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GORDON STEIN

273

Pope and Pagan:

OR

MIDDLETON'S LETTER FROM ROME,

ON THE SIMILARITY BETWEEN

POPERY AND PAGANISM.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY ENOCH POND,

Professor in the Theological Seminary, Bangor.

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INTRODUCTION.

Nothing can be more evident to even the passing reader of ecclesiastical history, than the prodigious increase of ceremonies in the church, in the ages subsequent to the apostles and their immediate successors. As the spirituality of religion decreased, additions were continually made to its *ritual*, till, as Augustine said, in the fourth century, "The yoke of the Jews was even more tolerable, than that which is now imposed upon Christians." The fact here stated, is unquestionable; and several causes seem to have combined to produce it.

In the first place, men are naturally averse to the method of salvation by *free and sovereign grace through Christ*, choosing rather to be the authors of their own salvation, or at least to do *something* to entitle them to the Divine approbation. And numerous expedients have been resorted to, having this end in view. One trusts to his *morality*—to the exemplary discharge of relative and social duties, to merit for him the

favor of heaven. Another, under the consciousness of guilt, consents to perform the most painful *penances*, and to practice the most cruel austerities on his own person, in the vain hope of making expiation, and restoring himself to the forfeited love of God. While a third and still more numerous class, think to compass the same object, by a punctilious attendance upon the *rites and forms of religion*. And in order that the end may be the more surely attained, rites and forms are variously multiplied, and the yoke of ceremonies is made burthensome and oppressive. It was with this view, that the scribes and Pharisees, in addition to the rites enjoined by Moses, imposed the traditions of the elders. It was with the same view, undoubtedly, that the sacraments of the New Testament — simple and beautiful in themselves — so soon became encumbered with superstitious observances; and not only so, but other rites and forms were added, until the whole Christian system, both in outward appearance and in reality, was changed.

To this cause of the change in question, lying deep in the depraved heart of man, others, of various influence, were added. There was the force of *custom*, which we all know to be very great. The early converts to Christianity,



whether Jews or Gentiles, had each and all of them been accustomed to a religion of forms. The rites of the ancient Israelites, were numerous and onerous; while those of the heathen round about them, were even more so. It was no light matter for the gospel to come in, and break up at once these *settled habits*, and implant a holy, spiritual religion, in place of one of outside show. It required continual effort, on the part even of the apostles, to keep some of the churches which they planted, from being swept quite away, by the tide of formalism which was setting in around them.

Another source of unauthorized observances in the ancient church, was the Oriental custom of imparting instruction by *signs* and *emblems*. Many of the fathers believed that this custom might be advantageously adopted in the church; and that by extending their ritual, having this object in view, the very forms of religion might be made to utter a language which should be at once intelligible and impressive.

But the chief cause of the increase of ceremonies, has not yet been mentioned. It was the desire, perhaps I ought to say the ambition, of many of the fathers, to *recommend their religion to Jews and heathen*. In the early days of Christianity, the charming simplicity of the gos-

pel system, was a standing reproach to it. Because the Christians had no images or altars, sacrifices or priests, it was insisted that they had no gods, and in fact no religion at all. They were no better than atheists, it was said, and were fit only to be abhorred and persecuted. There was but one way, as many of the good fathers thought, in which this scandal could be removed, and their religion be recommended to the heathen around them, and that was by extending their ritual. There must be more in it that was visible and imposing; more to strike the eye, and captivate the sense; more to assimilate their religion, at least in outward appearance and development, to the existing religions of the world.

The several causes of the increase of ceremonies, to which I have here adverted, will account for *the particular ceremonies* which from time to time were added. Some few of these, undoubtedly, were borrowed from the *Jewish ritual*. Others seem to have been adopted, on account of their supposed *symbolical* character. Thus the milk and honey administered after baptism, denoted that the subject was spiritually a babe; the white robe in which he was arrayed, was the symbol of his purity; while the crown on his head was a significant token of victory.

But the grand source from which new ceremonies were derived, not to adorn but deform the Christian church, was *the ritual of heathen Rome*. Christianity *nominally* supplanted paganism; but the change, as the event proved, was rather nominal than real. The old heathen temples, with little alteration, became Christian churches; the heathen idols, images of the saints; while the worship performed before these images, differed but slightly from that of the heathen altars. Thus heathenism was virtually restored under a Christian name, and has maintained its ascendancy, wherever the Romish religion has prevailed, from those times to the present. Of this startling fact, we have the most conclusive evidence, in the writings of ancient popes and fathers, and in ecclesiastical histories, Romish and Protestant, of modern times. Indeed, we have the evidence of our *own senses*, in the striking similarity between the existing rites of the Romish church, and those which were once practised in the heathen temples.

Gregory Nyssa, in his life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, (who was a disciple of Origen, and died about the middle of the third century,) says: "When Gregory perceived that the ignorant and simple multitude persisted in their idolatry, on

account of the sensitive pleasures and delights it afforded, he allowed them, in celebrating the memory of the holy martyrs, to *indulge themselves, and give a loose to pleasure,*" (i. e. as the connexion shows, he allowed them, at the sepulchres of the martyrs, *to dance, to use sports, to indulge conviviality, and to do all those things which idolators were wont to do in their temples on their feast days,*) "hoping that, in process of time, they would come over spontaneously to a more correct and becoming course of life." Here we find some of the grossest accompaniments of idol worship, incorporated into the worship of Christians, and that, too, on the authority of one of the most distinguished of the Christian fathers, within one hundred and fifty years of the death of the apostles.

To the same point, I may introduce the testimony of Gregory the great, bishop and pope of Rome, near the close of the sixth century. Writing to Augustine, the missionary, whom he had sent into Britain, for the conversion of the Saxons, Gregory says: "Whereas, it is a custom among the Saxons, to slay abundance of oxen, and sacrifice them to the devil, *you must not abolish that custom,* but appoint a new festival to be kept, either on the day of the consecration of the churches, or on the birth-day

of the saints whose relics are deposited there; and on these days, the Saxons may be allowed *to make arbors round the temples, now changed into churches, to kill their oxen, and to feast, as they did while they were still pagans*; only they shall offer their thanks and praises, not to the devil, but to God." In another epistle, addressed to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, who, in his zeal, had removed and destroyed some heathen idols, pope Gregory *censures* him for so doing, since, says he, "they serve the ignorant in place of books, and instruct, by being seen, those who cannot read."*

Mosheim repeatedly refers, not only to the increase of ceremonies in the primitive church, but to *the source* whence the greater part of them were derived. Speaking of the fourth century, he says, "The Christian bishops introduced, with but slight alterations, into the Christian worship, those rites and institutions by which, formerly, the Greeks, Romans, and other Pagans had manifested their reverence towards their imaginary deities; supposing that the people would more readily embrace Christianity, if they perceived the rites handed down to them from their fathers, still existing unchanged among the Christians, and saw that Christ and

* Greg. Lib. ix., Ep. 71. Lib. vii. Ep. 110.

the martyrs were worshipped in the same manner as formerly their gods were. There was, of course, little difference, in those times, between the public worship of the Christians, and that of the Greeks and Romans. In both, there were splendid robes, mitres, tiaras, wax tapers, crosiers, processions, lustrations, images, gold and silver vases, and innumerable other things alike."

Two centuries later, when the ceremonies had become so numerous, as to require a distinct class of teachers to interpret them, Mosheim says: "Those who deduce those rites from scripture and reason, betray folly, and exhibit rather the fictions of their own brains, than the true causes of things. If they had been acquainted with ancient opinions and customs, and had examined the pontifical laws of the Greeks and Romans, they would have taught much more correctly; for *from this source were derived many of the rites which the Christians regarded as sacred.*"* 2

Waddington, having described the superstitious, not to say idolatrous, honors which were early rendered to the martyrs, goes on to say: "Such were the first unworthy advances which were made by Christianity, and encouraged by

* Ecc. Hist. vol. i. pp. 331, 489.

her leading ministers, with the view to reconcile her external differences, with paganism; and no doubt they were very effectual in alluring those easy polytheists, whose piety was satisfied with numerous festivals in celebration of the exploits of mortals deified. For with them, the change was only in the *name* of the deity — not in the principles of the religion. And by this shameful compromise, the church was filled with converts, who believed, and who were probably taught to believe, that the worship they had deserted was not essentially dissimilar from that which they had embraced, and who continued, after their baptism, to perpetuate and exaggerate those corruptions, by which alone the resemblance was created. Here, then, we discover the root of several of the abuses of popery. They were concessions made, during this critical period, to the genius of *Paganism*, in order to decoy its votaries into a more speedy conversion, and to accelerate the dissolution of the one religion into the other. The *immediate* object was accomplished; but the lasting result has been to darken and disfigure the features of Christianity, not for one age only, but through a period, of which fourteen centuries have already been accomplished, and of which we cannot yet foresee the end ”

At a later period, Waddington says: "We have already mentioned the copious transfusion of heathen ceremonies into the Christian worship, which had taken place before the end of the fourth century, and to a certain extent had *paganized*, if we may so express it, the outward form and aspect of religion. Those ceremonies became more numerous, more general, and so far as the calamities of the times would permit, more splendid, in the age which followed. To console the convert for the loss of his favorite festivals, others of a different name, but similar description, were introduced; and the simple and serious occupation of a spiritual devotion, was beginning to degenerate into a worship of parade and demonstration, or a mere scene of riotous festivity."*

Mr. Bower, in his life of Gregory the great, whose letter to Augustine, I have before quoted, says: "The pope, not satisfied with directing Augustine, not to destroy, but to reserve for the worship of God, the profane places where the pagan Saxons had worshipped their idols, would have him treat the more profane *usages, rites, and ceremonies* of the pagans in the same manner; i. e. not abolish, but *sanctify them*, by

* Ecc. Hist. pp. 112, 118.

changing the end for which they were instituted, and introduce them, thus sanctified, into the Christian worship." "Thus was the religion of the Saxons, our ancestors, so disfigured and corrupted with the superstitions of Paganism, at its first being planted among them, that it scarce deserved the name of Christianity, but was rather a mixture of Christianity and Paganism."

The same indulgence that was granted to the Saxons in Britain, had been granted before to the other northern nations, that broke into the western empire. The more easily to win them; those who brought them into the church suffered them to bring along with them many of their idolatrous rites and usages; hoping, as Gregory did, that they would, in time, be prevailed upon to give them up. But it happened quite otherwise; for those rites and ceremonies, however heathenish, instead of being given up, were by degrees adopted by the Christians of those countries where the new comers settled, and thus the half Christians (for they were no better) remained half Christian still, while the true Christians became half pagans."

"The Franks who had settled in the south of Gaul, had been indulged, at the time of their conversion, in the use of images, and that in-

dulgence had insensibly brought them back to idolatry ; for turning the images of Christ into idols, they paid them the same kind of worship and adoration, after their conversion, which they had paid to their idols, before their conversion." * .

Bishop Stillingfleet, speaking of the compliances which were made in early times, to the genius of Pagan worship, says, "that Christianity became at last, by that means, to be nothing else, but *reformed Paganism*, as to its divine worship." † And Turrentin, describing the state of Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries, says : "The empire was brought over to the faith, but the church was infected with the pomp of the empire. The Pagans were converted to Christ, but *the worship of Christ was degraded to the fashion of Paganism.*" ‡

To these testimonies from learned Protestants, I might add numbers from Roman Catholic writers, all tending to the same conclusion. The learned Du Choul thus concludes his work on "the religion of the ancient Romans." "If we consider the case attentively, we shall find very many institutions of our religion" (Popery) "to have been borrowed from the ceremonies

* Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. ii, p. 523.

† *Works*, vol. 5, p. 459.

‡ *Orat. de variis Chris. Rel. fatis.*

of the Egyptians and the Gentiles; all which our priests now make use of in our mysteries, by referring to the only true God, Jesus Christ, what the ignorance, false religion and senseless superstition of the Pagans had applied to their gods, and mortal men after their consecration."

Aringhus also, in his work on "Subterraneous Rome,"* acknowledges the conformity between the Pagan and Popish rites, and defends the admission of the ceremonies of heathenism into the service of the church, by the authority of their wisest popes and governors; "who found it necessary," he says, "in the conversion of the Gentiles, to *dissemble and wink at many things*, and *yield to the times*, and not to use force against customs which the people were so obstinately fond of, nor to think of extirpating every thing at once, that had the appearance of being profane; but to supercede, in some measure, the obligation of the sacred laws, till these converts, convinced by degrees, and informed of the whole truth, by the suggestion of the Holy Spirit, should be content to submit in earnest, to the yoke of Christ."

But I am anticipating too far, the argument of Dr. Middleton, and detaining my readers too long, from his learned and ingenious Letter

* Tom i, Lib. i, chap. 21.

The subject and occasion of it, as well as the particular circumstances under which it was written, will be sufficiently detailed, in the following *biographical sketch of the author*, with which this introductory notice will be concluded.

The Rev. Conyers Middleton was the son of a clergyman, and was born at Richmond, Yorkshire, A. D., 1683. At the age of seventeen, he became a member of Trinity college, Cambridge, of which, in 1706, he was chosen fellow. He vacated his fellowship, after about two years, by contracting marriage with a lady of fortune, at Cambridge, with whom he retired to a rectory, in the isle of Ely. His health failing, he resigned his living, within little more than a year, and returned to Cambridge. He was there in the year 1717, when king George I. visited the University, by whose special mandate, Mr. Middleton, and several others, were created doctors of divinity. About this time, he was engaged in a long controversy with the celebrated Dr. Richard Bentley, Master of his college, which resulted very much to the discredit and disadvantage of the latter.

In consequence of the enlargement of the public library at Cambridge, by the addition of bishop More's extensive collection of books, which had been purchased by the king and

presented to the University, it became necessary to create a new office there — that of *principal librarian*; and this was conferred on Dr. Middleton. It was not long after this promotion, that he had the misfortune to lose his wife; and finding his own health impaired, he resolved upon a temporary residence on the continent. He accordingly took his journey through France into Italy, and arrived at Rome, early in the year 1724.

Shortly after his arrival, an incident occurred, at which he was amused as well as vexed, and which serves to show the extent to which the literati of Rome were at that period educated. Taking advantage of his office as principal librarian at Cambridge, Dr. M. obtained an introduction to his brother librarian of the Vatican. This gentleman received and entertained him with much politeness; but upon his happening to mention Cambridge, his learned host did not know that there was a University of that name, in England. He had heard of Oxford, but had no recollection of any such place as Cambridge. At last, having had his memory refreshed, he thought that he had heard of a school at Cambridge; but his impression was, that it was a kind of nursery, where young men were prepared for their admission to Oxford.

At Rome, Dr. Middleton lived in the style of an English nobleman, paying no less than four hundred pounds a year, for accommodations at his hotel. This, together with his great fondness for antique books, manuscripts, medals and other curiosities, and the extent to which he proceeded in the purchase of them, made a draft upon his fortune, which he was not well able to sustain. In the latter part of the following year, (1725) he returned through Paris, to England, where he arrived in the beginning of winter.

His first publication, after his return to England, was on *the rank and condition of physicians among the ancient Romans*; the object of which, was to show that they were a despised class, among the lowest and poorest of the people. This gave great offence to some of the medical faculty in England.

His next publication was his "Letter from Rome, on the conformity between Popery and Paganism"—the same that is here republished. This, says he, in his preface, contains "the substance of several letters, written by me, from Rome, to my friends in England; and as the argument of them was much upon my thoughts, and always in my view, during my stay in Italy, so there hardly passed a day that did not afford

me fresh matter and proof for the confirmation of it, till my collections grew up to the size in which they now appear. Upon a review of them, at my return, I found it necessary, for the sake of method and connexion, to dispose them into one continued argument, and to collect into one view, under the form of a single letter, what had been more slightly and separately touched in several."

The original purpose of Dr. Middleton in visiting Rome, was not, as he tells us, to "take notice of the fopperies and ridiculous ceremonies of the *present* religion of the place," but to gratify his curiosity and taste, by studying the monuments of *ancient Pagan worship*, more especially such as were invested with classic interest. But he soon found, what he did not expect, that the two religions were, in appearance, much the same. "Nothing," he says, "so much helped my imagination, to fancy myself wandering about in old heathen Rome, as to observe and attend to *the present religious worship*, all whose ceremonies appear plainly to have been copied from the rituals of primitive paganism, as if handed down by an uninterrupted succession, from the priests of old, to the priests of new Rome, while each of them called to my mind, some passage of a classic author, where

the same ceremony was described, which I now saw executed in the same place, before my eyes ; so that as oft as I was present at any religious exercise in their churches, I seemed to fancy myself looking on, at some solemn act of idolatry in old Rome, rather than beholding a worship, instituted on the principles and formed upon the plan of Christianity."

At its first appearance, the "Letter from Rome" was extensively read, and was, in general, well received. With certain portions of it, some of the author's friends were dissatisfied, fearing that the manner in which he attacked the Popish miracles, would turn to the discredit of all miracles. In a subsequent edition, however, (for the work went speedily through several editions) he satisfied them, as to his belief of the *Jewish* and *Christian* miracles, and insisted that the only way to defend and sustain them, is to separate them from the impositions of the subsequent ages.

The argument of the letter was not, indeed, an original one. It had been drawn out at length, and with considerable ability, by several previous Protestant writers.* Still, our author's

* In 1594, Dr. Moresin published his work on "the Origin and Increase of Depravity in Religion," in which is contained "a Masterly Parallel between the

extensive acquaintance with books, and his opportunities of observation during a residence of almost two years in Italy, enabled him to discuss it, to peculiar advantage. He says, in his preface, "I am under no apprehension of being thought a plagiarist. My observations are grounded on facts of which I have been myself an eye witness, and which others, perhaps, had not the opportunity of examining personally, or considering so particularly, as I have done."

Dr. Middleton's letter was, of course, attacked by Popish writers; but he defended himself with distinguished ability; and the more important parts, both of *their* objections and of *his* defence, will be found in the appendix to the present volume.

Our author's next literary and theological ef-

Rites, Notions, &c., of Heathen, and those of Papal Rome."

In 1667, a very learned work was published at Leyden, on "the Conformity between the Modern and Ancient Ceremonies."

In 1675, a work appeared in England, with the following title: "*Pagano-Papismus*; or an exact Parallel between Rome Pagan and Rome Christian, in their doctrines and ceremonies. By Joshua Stopford."

In 1679, another work appeared, entitled "A true and lively Representation of Popery, showing that Popery is only new modelled Paganism, and perfectly destructive of the great Ends and Purposes of God in the Gospel."

fort was less creditable to him than the one we have now considered. In the year 1730, Tindall published his work, entitled "Christianity as old as the Creation;" the design of which was to destroy revelation, and establish natural religion in its stead. Dr. Waterland replied to Tindall; but Middleton was not satisfied with his reply, and immediately addressed a letter to him, containing some severe remarks, and also the plan of another answer to Tindall's publication. This led to a long and somewhat bitter controversy, from which Middleton did not escape without being accused, as the ally of Tindall, in the cause of infidelity. Some of his enemies went so far in their opposition, as to urge his being degraded and banished from the university. He had no difficulty, however, in vindicating himself, on the score of unbelief. He had said no more than other eminent divines had said before him. And so far from being separated from the university, it was in the midst of this controversy, (1731) that he was promoted to the professorship of philosophy.

In the year 1741, Dr. Middleton published his great work, "the Life of Cicero," in two volumes quarto. "This is indeed," says his biographer, "a very fine performance, whether we regard the materials or the language; and

will probably be read as long as taste and polite literature shall continue to prevail among us. It is written in the most correct and elegant style, and abounds with everything that can instruct and entertain—that can inform the understanding and improve the taste. Nevertheless, there is one fault in it, which is very common to biographers. They are apt to be partial and prejudiced in favor of their subject, and to give us a panegyric, instead of a history. This Dr. Middleton has done in regard to Cicero. He has labored to cast a shade over his failings, to give the strongest coloring to his virtues, and out of a generally good character, to draw a *perfect* one, — which Cicero was far from being. This, however, is but a slight blemish, and the reader has it always in his power to correct it, as he goes along.” This great work was published by subscription, and was almost the only one which yielded any considerable pecuniary profit to the author.

In the year 1748, Dr. Middleton published another large and important work, entitled “A ~~Free Inquiry~~ ^{Free Inquiry} into the Miraculous powers which ~~are supposed~~ to have subsisted in the Christian church, from the earliest ages, through several successive centuries.” The design was to show, that we have no sufficient evidence of

the continuance of miraculous powers, subsequent to the age of the apostles. This involved him in another fierce controversy, and exposed him again to the charge of infidelity. There was, however, no foundation for this charge; as the author declares his firm belief of *all the miracles recorded in scripture*. The question as to the continuance of miraculous powers, beyond the age of the apostles, and of those to whom they imparted the gift, is one about which Christian divines and scholars have long been divided in opinion.

To the more respectable of his opponents on this question, namely, Doctors Dodwell and Church, Dr. Middleton commenced a reply, which he did not live to finish. He died at Hildersham, Cambridgeshire, of a slow fever and disorder of the liver, in the summer of 1750, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

After his death, his miscellaneous works were collected and published, in four volumes, quarto. Many of the pieces contained in them, being rather of a local and temporary character, are now but little read. Others discuss questions of the highest importance; and they are all written with much acuteness and learning. "As a writer," says his biographer, "no man deserves better to be read than Middleton; no

man having exceeded him in spirit, perspicuity, correctness, and elegance." "It was Cicero," he says in one place, "who instructed me to write;" and he was a pupil worthy of such a master.

No man, at this day, will think of calling in question the great learning and intellectual ability of Dr. Middleton. Nor can any one, with reason, doubt his *sincerity*. He was not an evangelical Christian, in the sense in which that term is now commonly understood. Still, he was a firm believer in the Christian religion, and was as good a Christian, probably, as the majority of those who opposed and traduced him.

If he did not despise worldly honors, he certainly did not think it worth his while to cringe, and flatter, and trim his course of study and pursuit, in order to obtain them. He spoke out freely what he esteemed to be true and right, whatever might be the consequences in regard to his own personal interests and prospects.

With the exception of his life of Cicero, we think his letter from Rome the most respectable and useful of his numerous publications, and that by which he will be the longest and most favorably known to the world; and we are happy in the opportunity of presenting the pub-



lic with an edition of it, in a form adapted to general circulation. We are happy in doing this at the *present time*, when the most vigorous efforts are made to extend the Romish religion, and when everything calculated to throw light upon it, must be peculiarly interesting.

I only add, that in Dr. Middleton's letter, as he left it, all his positions are abundantly fortified by quotations and references in the margin. But as the most of these, being in Greek and Latin, would be of no value to the mass of readers, and would serve rather to encumber than adorn the page, they are here omitted. Those who wish to consult them, will have no difficulty in doing so, by referring to some of the old London editions of the work.

Theo. Sem., Bangor, }
Oct. 25, 1845. }

A

LETTER FROM ROME.

SIR : I am sensible, that by this time you cannot but be desirous to have some account of the entertainment, that I have met with in Rome; for as you have often heard me declare a very high opinion of the pleasure, which a curious man might reasonably expect to find in it, so you will be impatient to hear how far my expectation has been answered, and my curiosity satisfied. You have observed, without doubt, from my former letters, that the pleasure of my travels seemed to grow upon me in proportion to the progress which I made on my journey, and to my approach towards Rome; and the very place, which I had seen the last, so pleased me the most. This was

certainly true in my road through Lyons, Turin, Genoa, Florence, but is much more remarkably so with regard to Rome ; which, of all the places that I have yet seen, or ever shall see, is by far the most delightful ; since all those very things, which had recommended any other place to me, and which I had been admiring before, single and dispersed, in the several cities through which I passed, may be seen in Rome, as it were in one view, and not only in greater plenty, but in greater perfection.

I have often been thinking, that this voyage to Italy might properly enough be compared to the common stages and journey of life. At our setting out through France, the pleasures that we find, like those of our youth, are of the gay fluttering kind, which grow by degrees, as we advance towards Italy, more solid, manly, and rational, but attain not their full perfection till we reach Rome ; from which point we no sooner turn homewards, than they begin again gradually to decline ; and though sustained for a while in some degree of ~~vigor~~ through the other stages and cities of Italy, yet,

dwindle at last into weariness and fatigue, and a desire to be at home ; where the traveler finishes his course, as the old man does his days, with the usual privilege of being tiresome to his friends, by a perpetual repetition of past adventures.

But to return to my story. Rome is certainly of all cities in the world the most entertaining to strangers: for whether we consider it in its ancient or present, its civil or ecclesiastical state; whether we admire the great perfection of arts in the noble remains of *old* Rome; or the revival of the same arts in the beautiful ornaments of *modern* Rome; every one, of what genius or taste soever, will be sure to find something or other, that will deserve his attention, and engage his curiosity; and even those, who have no particular taste or regard at all for things curious, but travel merely for the sake of fashion, and to waste time, will still spend that time with more satisfaction at Rome, than any where else, from that easy manner in which they find themselves accommodated with all the conveniences of life; that general civility and respect to strangers; that quiet and security,

which every man of prudence is sure to find in it. But one thing is certainly peculiar to this city; that though travelers have generally been so copious in their descriptions of it, and there are published in all parts of Europe such voluminous collections of its curiosities, yet it is a subject, never to be exhausted: since in the infinite variety of entertainment which it affords, every judicious observer will necessarily find something or other, that has either escaped the researches of others, or that will at least afford matter for more particular and curious remarks, than a common traveler is capable of making, or a general collector has time to reflect on. The learned Montfaucon, speaking of the Villa of Prince Borghese, says; "though its antique monuments and rarities have been a hundred times described in print, that many more of them still have been overlooked and omitted, than are yet published." And if this be true of one single collection, what an idea must we have of the immense treasure of the same kind, which the whole city is able to furnish?

As for my own journey to this place, it

was not, I own, any motive of devotion, which draws so many others hither, that occasioned it. My zeal was not bent on visiting the holy thresholds of the Apostles, or kissing the feet of their successor. I knew, that their ecclesiastical antiquities were mostly fabulous and legendary; supported by fictions and impostures, too gross to employ the attention of a man of sense. For should we allow, that St. Peter had been at Rome, (of which many learned men however have doubted) yet they had not, I knew, any authentic monuments remaining of him; any visible footsteps subsisting, to demonstrate his residence among them. And should we ask them for any evidence of this kind, they would refer us to the impression of his face on the wall of the dungeon, in which he was confined; or to a fountain in the bottom of it, raised miraculously by him out of the rock, in order to baptize his fellow prisoners; or to the mark of our Savior's feet in a stone, on which he appeared to him, and stopped him, as he was flying out of the city from a persecution then raging: In memory of which, there was a church built on the spot,

called St. Mary delle Piante, or of the marks of the feet, which falling into decay, was supplied by a chapel, at the expense of our Cardinal Pool. But the stone itself, more valuable, as their writers say, than any of the precious ones, being a perpetual monument and proof of the christian religion, is preserved with all due reverence in St. Sebastian's church; where I purchased a print of it, with several others of the same kind. Or they would appeal, perhaps, to the evidence of some miracle wrought at his execution; as they do in the case of St. Paul, in a church called, *At the three Fountains*; the place where he was beheaded; on which occasion, it seems, "Instead of blood there issued only milk from his veins; and his head, when separated from the body, having made three jumps upon the ground, raised at each place a spring of living water, which retains still, as they would persuade us, the plain taste of milk:" of all which facts we have an account in Baronius, Mabillon, and all their gravest authors, and may see printed figures of them in the description of modern Rome.

It was no part of my design, to spend my

time abroad, in attending to the ridiculous fictions of this kind. The chief pleasure which I proposed to myself was, to visit the *genuine* remains, and venerable relics of pagan Rome; the authentic monuments of antiquity, that demonstrate the certainty of those histories which are the entertainment, as well as the instruction of our younger years; and which, by the early prejudice of being the first knowledge that we acquire, as well as the delight which they give, in describing the lives and manners of the greatest men who ever lived, gain sometimes so much upon our riper age, as to exclude too often other more useful and necessary studies. I could not help flattering myself with the joy that I should have, in viewing the very place and scene of those important events, the knowledge and explication of which have ever since been the chief employment of the learned and polite world; in treading that ground, where at every step we stumble on the ruins of some fabric described by the ancients; and cannot help setting a foot on the memorial of some celebrated action, in which the great heroes of antiquity had been personally engaged.



I amused myself with the thoughts of taking a turn in those very walks, where Cicero and his friends had held their philosophical disputations, or of standing on that very spot, where he had delivered some of his famous orations.

Such fancies as these, with which I often entertained myself on my road to Rome, are not, I dare say, peculiar to myself, but common to all men of reading and education; whose dreams upon a voyage to Italy, like the descriptions of the Elysian fields, represent nothing to their fancies, but the pleasure of finding out and conversing with those ancient sages and heroes, whose characters they have most admired. Nor indeed is this imagination much disappointed in the event; for, as Cicero observes, “whether it be from nature, or some weakness in us, it is certain, that we are much more affected with the sight of those places, where great and famous men have spent most part of their lives, than either to hear of their actions, or read their works;” and he was not, as he tells us, “so much pleased with Athens itself, for its stately buildings or exquisite pieces of art, as in

recollecting the great men whom it had bred; in carefully visiting their sepulchres; and finding out the place where each had lived, or walked, or held his disputations." This is what every man of curiosity will, in the like circumstances, find true in himself; and for my own part, as oft as I have been rambling about in the very rostra of old Rome, or in that temple of concord, where Tully assembled the Senate in Cataline's conspiracy, I could not help fancying myself much more sensible of the force of his eloquence, whilst the impression of the place served to warm my imagination to a degree almost equal to that of his old audience.

As therefore my general studies had furnished me with a competent knowledge of Roman history, as well as an inclination to search more particularly into some branches of its antiquities, so I had resolved to employ myself chiefly in inquiries of this sort; and to lose as little time as possible, in taking notice of the fopperies and ridiculous ceremonies of the present religion of the place. But I soon found myself mistaken; for the whole form and outward dress

of their worship seemed so grossly idolatrous and extravagant, beyond what I had imagined, and made so strong an impression on me, that I could not help considering it with a particular regard; especially when the very reason which I thought would have hindered me from taking any notice of it at all, was the chief cause that engaged me to pay so much attention to it; for nothing, I found, concurred so much with my original intention of conversing with the ancients, or so much helped my imagination, to fancy myself wandering about in old heathen Rome, as to observe and attend to their religious worship; all whose ceremonies appeared plainly to have been copied from the rituals of primitive Paganism, as if handed down by an uninterrupted succession from the priests of old, to the priests of new Rome; whilst each of them readily explained and called to my mind some passage of a classic author, where the same ceremony was described, as transacted in the same form and manner, and in the same place, where I now saw it executed before my eyes; so that as oft as I was present at any religious exercise in their churches, it was

more natural to fancy myself looking on at some solemn act of idolatry in old Rome, than assisting at a worship, instituted on the principles, and fomed upon the plan of Christianity.

Many of our divines have, I know, with much learning, and solid reasoning, charged and effectually proved the crime of idolatry on the church of Rome; but these controversies (in which there is still something plausible to be said on the other side, and where the charge is constantly denied, and with much subtilty evaded) are not capable of giving that conviction, which I immediately received from my senses; the surest witnesses of fact in all cases; and which no man can fail to be furnished with, who sees Popery, as it is exercised in Italy, in the full pomp and display of its pageantry, and practising all its arts and powers without caution or reserve. This similitude of the popish and pagan religion seemed so evident and clear, and struck my imagination so forcibly, that I soon resolved to give myself the trouble of searching to the bottom, and to explain and demonstrate the

certainty of it, by comparing together the principal and most obvious parts of each worship; which, as it was my first employment after I came to Rome, shall be the subject of my first letter. Reserving therefore to my next, the account that I design to give you of the antiquities and other curiosities of the place, I shall find matter enough for this time to tire both you and myself, in showing the source and origin of the popish ceremonies, and the exact conformity of them with those of their pagan ancestors.

The very first thing, that a stranger must necessarily take notice of, as soon as he enters their churches, is the use of *incense* or *perfumes* in their religious offices. The first step which he takes within the door, will be sure to make him sensible of it, by the offence that he will immediately receive from the smell, as well as smoke of this incense, with which the whole church continues filled for some time after every solemn service; a custom, received directly from Paganism, and which presently called to my mind the old descriptions of the heathen

temples and altars, which are seldom or never mentioned by the ancients without the epithet of perfumed or incensed.*

In some of their principal churches, where you have before you, in one view, a great number of altars, and all of them smoking at once with steams of incense, how natural is it to imagine one's self transported into the temple of some heathen deity, or that of the Paphian Venus described by Virgil?

Her hundred altars there with garlands crown'd
And richest incense smoking, breath around
Sweet odors, &c.--*Æn.* i. 420

Under the pagan emperors, the use of incense for any purpose of religion was thought so contrary to the obligations of christianity, that in their persecutions, the very method of trying and convicting a christian, was by requiring him, only to throw the least grain of it into the censer or on the altar.

Under the christian emperors, on the other hand, it was looked upon as a rite so peculiarly heathenish, that the very places or houses, where it could be proved to have

* See Appendix, A*
4*

been done, were by a law of Theodosius confiscated to the government.

In the old bass-reliefs, or pieces of sculpture, where any heathen sacrifice is represented, we never fail to observe a boy in sacred habit, which was always white, attending on the priest, with a little chest or box in his hands, in which this incense was kept for the use of the altar. And in the same manner still in the church of Rome, there is always a boy in surplice, waiting on the priest at the altar with the sacred utensils, and among the rest, the Thuribulum or vessel of incense, which the priest, with many ridiculous motions and crossings, waves several times, as it is smoking around and over the altar in different parts of the service.

The next thing that will, of course, strike one's imagination, is their use of *holy water*; for nobody ever goes in or out of a church, but is either sprinkled by the priest, who attends for that purpose on solemn days, or else serves himself with it from a vessel, usually of marble, placed just at the door, not unlike to one of our baptismal fonts. Now this ceremony is so notoriously and

directly transmitted to them from Paganism, that their own writers make not the least scruple to own it. The Jesuit la Cerda, in his notes on a passage of Virgil where this practice is mentioned, says, "Hence was derived the custom of holy church, to provide purifying or holy water at the entrance of their churches." *Aquaminarium* or *Amula*, says the learned Montfaucon, was a vase of holy water, placed by the heathen at the entrance of their temples, to sprinkle themselves with. The same vessel was by the Greeks called *Periranterion*; two of which, the one of gold, the other of silver, were given by Cræsus to the Temple of Apollo at Delphi; and the custom of sprinkling themselves was so necessary, a part of all their religious offices, that the method of excommunication seems to have been by prohibiting to offenders the approach and use of the holy-water-pot. The very composition of this holy-water was the same also among the heathen as it is now among the Papists, being nothing more than a mixture of salt with common water; and the form of the sprinkling-brush, called by the ancients *asper-*

sorium or *aspergillum* (which is much the same with what the priests now make use of) may be seen in *bass-reliefs* or *ancient coins*, wherever the insignia, or emblems of the pagan priesthood are described, of which it is generally one.

Platina, in his lives of the Popes, and other authors, ascribe the institution of this holy water, to Pope Alexander the first, who is said to have lived about the year of Christ 113. But it could not be introduced so early; since, for some ages after, we find the primitive fathers speaking of it, as a custom purely heathenish, and condemning it as impious and detestable. Justin Martyr says, "That it was invented by demons, in imitation of the true baptism signified by the prophets, that their votaries might also have their pretended purifications by water;" and the emperor Julian, out of spite to the Christians, used to order the victuals in the markets to be sprinkled with holy water, on purpose either to starve them, or force them to eat, what, by their own principles, they esteemed polluted.

Thus we see what contrary notions the primitive and Romish church have of this

ceremony; the first condemns it as superstitious, abominable, and irreconcilable with Christianity; the latter adopts it as highly edifying, and applicable to the improvement of Christian piety. The one looks upon it as the contrivance of the devil, to delude mankind; the other as the security of mankind against the delusions of the devil. But what is still more ridiculous than even the ceremony itself, is to see their learned writers gravely reckoning up the several virtues and benefits derived from the use of it, both to the soul and the body; and to crown all, producing a long roll of miracles, to attest the certainty of each virtue which they ascribe to it. Why may we not then justly apply to the present people of Rome, what was said by the poet of its old inhabitants, for the use of this very ceremony?

“Ah! easy fools, to think that a whole flood
Of water, e’er can purge the stain of blood!”
[Ovid, *Fast.* 2, 45.]

I do not at present recollect whether the ancients went so far as to apply the use of this holy water to the purifying or blessing their horses, asses, and other cattle; or whether this be an improvement of modern

Rome, which has dedicated a yearly festival peculiarly to this service, called in their vulgar language, the benediction of horses; which is always celebrated with much solemnity in the month of January; when all the inhabitants of the city and neighborhood send up their horses, asses, &c., to the convent of St. Antony, near St. Mary the great, where a priest in surplice, at the church door, sprinkles with his brush all the animals singly, as they are presented to him, and receives from each owner a gratuity proportionable to his zeal and ability. Amongst the rest, I had my own horses blest at the expense of about eighteen pence of our money; as well to satisfy my own curiosity, as to humor the coachman, who was persuaded, as the common people generally are, that some mischance would befall them within the year, if they wanted the benefit of this benediction. Mabillon, in giving an account of this function, of which he happened also to be an eye-witness, makes no other reflection upon it, than that it was new and unusual to him.

I have met, indeed, with some hints of a practice not foreign to this, among the an-

cients, of sprinkling their horses with water, in the Circensian games: but whether this was done out of a superstitious view of inspiring any virtue, or purifying them for those races which were esteemed sacred; or merely to refresh them under the violence of such an exercise, is not easy to determine. But allowing the Romish priests to have taken the hint from some old custom of Paganism, yet this however must be granted them, that they alone were capable of cultivating so coarse and barren a piece of superstition, into a revenue sufficient for the maintenance of forty or fifty idle monks.*

No sooner is a man advanced a little forward into their churches, and begins to look about him, but he will find his eyes and attention attracted by a number of *lamps* and *wax candles*, which are constantly burning before the shrines and images of their saints. In all the great churches of Italy, says Mabillon, they hang up lamps at every altar; a sight which will not only surprize a stranger by the novelty of it, but will furnish him with another proof and example

* Appendix, B.

of the conformity of the Romish with the Pagan worship, by recalling to his memory many passages of the heathen writers, where their perpetual lamps and candles are described as continually burning before the altars and statutes of their deities.

Herodotus tells us of the Egyptians, (who first introduced the use of lights or lamps into their temples,) that they had a famous yearly festival, called from the principal ceremony of it, the *lighting up of candles*; but there is scarce a single festival at Rome, which might not for the same reason be called by the same name.

The primitive writers frequently expose the folly and absurdity of this heathenish custom: they "light up candles to God," says Lactantius, "as if he lived in the dark; and do not they deserve to pass for madmen, who offer lamps to the Author and Giver of light?"

In the collections of old inscriptions, we find many instances of presents and donations from private persons, of lamps and candlesticks to the temples and altars of their gods; a piece of zeal, which continues still the same in modern Rome, where each

church abounds with lamps of massy silver, and sometimes even of gold; the gifts of princes, and other persons of distinction; and it is surprizing to see how great a number of this kind are perpetually burning before the altars of their principal saints, or miraculous images; as St. Anthony of Padua, or the lady of Loretto; as well as the vast profusion of wax candles, with which their churches are illuminated on every great festival; when the high altar, covered with gold and silver plate, brought out of their treasuries, and stuck full of wax lights disposed in beautiful figures, looks more like the rich side-board of some great prince, dressed out for a feast, than an altar to pay divine worship at.*

But a stranger will not be more surprized at the number of lamps, or wax lights burning before their altars, than at the number of *offerings*, or *votive gifts*, which are hanging all around them, in consequence of vows made in the time of danger; and in gratitude for deliverances and cures, wrought in sickness or distress; a practice so common among the heathen, that no one custom of

* Appendix, C.

antiquity is so frequently mentioned by all their writers; and many of their original *donaria*, or votive offerings, are preserved to this day, in the cabinets of the curious, viz. images of metal, stone, or clay, as well as legs, arms, and other parts of the body, which had formerly been hung up in their temples, in testimony of some divine favor or cure effected by their tutelar deity in that particular member.* But the most common of all offerings, were *pictures*, representing the history of the miraculous cure or deliverance, vouchsafed upon the vow of the donor.

“Now, goddess, help, for thou canst help bestow,
As all these pictures round thy altars show.”

[Tibul. El. 1. 3.]

A friend of Diagoras, the philosopher, called the atheist, having found him once in a temple, as the story is told by Cicero, “You,” says he, “who think the Gods take no notice of human affairs, do not you see here, by this number of pictures, how many people, for the sake of their vows, have been saved in storms at sea, and got safe into harbor?” “Yes,” says Diagoras, “I see

* Appendix, D.

how it is; for those are never painted, who happen to be drowned." The temples of Æsculapius were more especially rich in these offerings, which Livy says were the price and pay for the cures that he had wrought for the sick; where they used always to hang up, and expose to common view, in tables of brass or marble, a catalogue of all the miraculous cures, which he had performed for his votaries. A remarkable fragment of one of these tables, is still remaining and published in Gruter's collection, having been found in the ruins of a temple of that god, in the island of the Tiber, at Rome; upon which the learned Montfaucon makes this reflection; that in it are either seen "the wiles of the devil, to deceive the credulous; or else the tricks of Pagan priests, suborning men to counterfeit diseases and miraculous cures."

Now this piece of superstition had been found of old so beneficial to the priesthood, that it could not fail of being taken into the scheme of the Romish worship; where it reigns at this day, in as full height and vigor, as in the ages of Pagan idolatry; and in so gross a manner, as to give scandal

and offence even to some of their own communion. Polydore Virgil, after having described this practice of the ancients, "in the same manner, says he, do we now offer up in our churches, little images of wax; and as oft as any part of the body is hurt, as the hand or foot, &c., we presently make a vow to God, or one of his saints, to whom, upon our recovery, we make an offering of that hand or foot in wax; which custom is now come to that extravagance, that we do the same thing for our cattle, which we do for ourselves, and make offerings on account of our oxen, horses, sheep; where a scrupulous man will question, whether in this we imitate the religion or the superstition of our ancestors."

The altar of St. Philip Neri,* says Baronius, "shines with votive pictures and images, the proofs of as many miracles;

* This Philip Neri is a saint in high esteem in all parts of Italy, where he has many churches dedicated to him; he was founder of the congregation of the oratory, and died about a century and a half ago; his body lies under his altar, with the following inscription, in a fine church called Chiesa Nuova, which was founded and built for the service of his congregation: where we see his picture by Guido, and his statue by Algardi. Cardinal Baronius, who was one of his disciples, lies buried too in the same church.

receiving every day the additional lustre of fresh offerings from those who have been favored with fresh benefits;" amongst whom the present pope himself, pays, as I have been told, a yearly acknowledgment, for a miraculous deliverance that he obtained by the invocation of this saint, when he had like to have perished under the ruins of a house, overturned in an earthquake.

There is commonly so great a number of these offerings hanging up in their churches, that instead of adding any beauty, they often give offence, by covering or obstructing the sight of something more valuable and ornamental; which we find to have been the case, likewise, in the old heathen temples; where the priests were obliged sometimes to take them down, for the obstruction which they gave to the beauty of a fine pillar or altar. For they consist, chiefly, as has been said, of arms and legs, and little figures of wood or wax, but especially pieces of board painted, and sometimes, indeed, fine pictures, describing the manner of the deliverance obtained by the miraculous interposition of the saint invoked; of which offerings, the blessed Virgin

is so sure, always, to carry off the greatest share, that it may truly be said of her, what Juvenal says of the goddess Isis, whose religion was at that time in the greatest vogue at Rome, that the painters get their livelihood out of her.

“ Pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci ? ”

“ As once to Isis, now it may be said,
That painters to the Virgin owe their bread.”

As oft as I have had the curiosity to look over these Donaria, or votive offerings, hanging round the shrines of their images, and consider the several stories of each, as they are either expressed in painting, or related in writing, I have always found them to be *mere copies* or *verbal translations* of the originals of heathenism; for the vow is often said to have been divinely inspired, or expressly commanded; and the cure and deliverance to have been wrought, either by the visible apparition and immediate hand of the tutelar saint, or by the notice of a dream, or some other miraculous admonition from heaven. “There can be no doubt,” say their writers, “but that the images of our saints often work signal miracles, by procuring health to the infirm, and appearing

to us often in dreams, to suggest something of great moment for our service."

And what is all this, but a revival of the old impostures, and a repetition of the same old stories, of which the ancient inscriptions are full,* with no other difference, than what the Pagans ascribed to the imaginary

* SILVANO SALVTARI
L. MANLIVS SATVRNINVS
EX VISO POSVIT.

Gruter. p. 65.

MINERVAE. MEMORI
CAELIA. IVLIANA.
INDVLGENTIA. MEDICINARUM
EIVS GRAVI. INFIRMITATE.
LIBERATA. D. P.

48.

SILVANO
&c.
SOMNIO MONITA
ib. 62.

IOVI OPT., &c.
FLAVIVS. COSMVS
IVSSU DEI FECIT.

20.

And that this is the style also of votive inscriptions among the Papists, we see by the following one in a church at Milan.

DIVAE. SAVINAE, &c.
LIVIA. EVPHEMIA.. IN
ACERBO. STOMACHI
CRVCIATV. OPEM NACTA.
V. S. M. D. XI.

help of their deities, the papists as foolishly impute to the favor of their saints! As may be seen by the few instances that I have subjoined, out of the great plenty which all books of antiquities will furnish. And whether the reflection of father Montfaucon on the Pagan priests, mentioned above,* be not, in the very same case, as justly applicable to the Romish priests, I must leave to the judgment of my reader.

But the gifts and offerings of the kind that I have been speaking of, are the fruits only of vulgar zeal, and the presents of inferior people; whilst princes and great persons, as it used to be of old, frequently make offerings of large vessels, lamps, and even statues of massy silver or gold, with diamonds, and all sorts of precious stones of incredible value; so that the church of Loretto is now become a proverb for its riches of this sort, just as Apollo's temple at Delphi was with the ancients, on the same account.

"Nor all the wealth Apollo's temple holds,
Can purchase one day's life," &c. [Il. 9. 404.

In the famed treasury of this holy house,

* p. 51.

one part consists, as it did likewise among the heathen, of a *wardrobe*. For "The very idols," as Tertullian observes, "used to be dressed out in curious robes, of the choicest stuffs and fashion." While they were showing us, therefore, the great variety of rich habits with which that treasury abounds, some covered with precious stones, others more curiously embroidered by such a queen, or princess, for the use of the miraculous image, I could not help recollecting the picture which old Homer draws of queen Hecuba of Troy, prostrating herself before the miraculous image of Pallas, with a present of the richest and best wrought gown that she was mistress of.

"A gown she chose, the best and noblest far,
Sparkling with rich embroidery, like a star," &c.

[Il. 6. 293.

The mention of Loretto puts me in mind of the surprise that I was in, at the first sight of the holy image; for its face is as black as a negro's; so that one would take it rather for the representation of a Proserpine, or infernal deity, than what they impiously stile it, of the queen of heaven. But I soon recollected, that this very cir-

cumstance of its complexion, made it but resemble the more exactly the old idols of Paganism, which, in sacred as well as profane writers, are described to be black with the perpetual smoke of lamps and incense.*

When a man is once engaged in reflections of this kind, imagining himself in some heathen temple, and expecting as it were, some sacrifice, or other piece of Paganism to ensue, he will not be long in suspense, before he sees the finishing act and last scene of genuine idolatry, in crowds of bigot votaries, *prostrating themselves before some image of wood or stone, and paying divine honors to an idol of their own erecting.* Should they squabble with us here about the meaning of the word idol, St. Jerom has determined it to the very case in question, telling us, that "by idols are to be understood the images of the dead;"† and the worshippers of such images are *used* always, in the style of the fathers, as terms synonymous and equivalent to *heathen or Pagans.*

* Baruch. 6. 19, 21.

† *Idola intelligimus imagines mortuorum.* Hier. Com, in Isa. c. 37.

As to the practice itself, it was condemned by many of the wisest heathen, and for several ages, even in Pagan Rome, was thought impious and detestable; for Numa, we find, prohibited it to the old Romans, nor would suffer any images in their temples; which constitution they observed religiously, says Plutarch,* for the first hundred and seventy years of the city. But as image worship was thought abominable even by some Pagan princes, so by some of the Christian emperors it was forbidden on pain of death; not because these images were the representations of demons or false gods, but because they were vain senseless idols, the work of men's hands, and for that reason unworthy of any honor; and all the instances and overt acts of such worship, described and condemned by them, are exactly the same with what the Papists practise at this day, viz. lighting up candles, burning incense, hanging up garlands, &c., as may be seen in the laws of Theodosius, who confiscates that house or land, where any such act of Gentile superstition had been committed. These princes, who were influenced, we may suppose, in their con-

* Vid. Plutar. in Vit. Num. p. 65.

stitutions of this sort, by the advice of their bishops, did not think Paganism abolished, till the adoration of images was *utterly extirpated*; which was reckoned always the principal of those Gentile rites, that, agreeably to the sense of the purest ages of Christianity, are never mentioned in the imperial laws, without the epithets of profane, damnable, impious, &c.

What opinion, then, can we have of the present practice of the church of Rome, but that by a change only of name, they have found means to retain the thing; and by substituting their saints in the place of the old demi-gods, have but set up idols of their own, instead of those of their forefathers? In which it is hard to say, whether their assurance, or their address is more to be admired, who have the face to make that the principal part of Christian worship, which the first Christians looked upon as the most criminal part even of Paganism, and have found means to extract gain and great revenues out of a practice, which, in primitive times, would have cost a man both life and estate.*

But our notion of the idolatry of modern

* Appendix, E.

Rome, will be much heightened still and confirmed, as oft as we follow them into those temples, and to those very altars, which were built originally by their heathen ancestors, the old Romans, to the honor of their Pagan deities; where we shall hardly see any other alteration, than the shrine of some old hero filled by the meaner statue of some modern saint. Nay, they have not always, as I am well informed, given themselves the trouble of making even this change, but have been content sometimes to take up with the old image, just as they found it, after baptizing it only, as it were, or consecrating it anew, by the imposition of a Christian name. This their antiquaries do not scruple to put strangers in mind of, in showing their churches; and it was, I think, in that of St. Agnes, where they showed me an antique statue of a young Bacchus, which, with a new name, and some little change of drapery, stands now worshipped under the title of a female saint.*

* An image of St. Peter, now standing at Rome—an object of continual adoration—was once an image of Jupiter. The *name* has been changed, but the substance and form remain the same.

Tully reproaches Clodius, for having publicly dedicated the statue of a common strumpet, under the name and title of the goddess Liberty; a practice still frequent with the present Romans, who have scarce a fine image or picture of a female saint, which is not said to have been designed originally by the sculptor or painter, for the representation of his own mistress; and who dares, may we say, ironically, with the old Roman, to “violate such a goddess as this?”

The noblest heathen temple now remaining in the world, is *the Pantheon* or *Rotunda*, which, as the inscription over the portico informs us, having been impiously dedicated of old, by Agrippa, to Jove and all the gods, was piously reconsecrated by pope Boniface the fourth, to the blessed virgin and all the saints.* With this sin-

* PANTHEON, &c.

Ab Agrippa Augusti Genero

Impie Jovi, Cæterisq; Mendacibus Diis

A Bonifacio IIII. Pontifice

Deiparæ & S. S. Christi Martyribus Pie

Dicatum,

&c.

The feast of *all saints* was instituted by this same Boniface i.e., in honor of his consecration of the Pantheon to *all the saints*.

gle alteration, it serves as exactly for all the purposes of the Popish, as it did for the Pagan worship, for which it was built. For as in the old temple, every one might find the god of his country, and address himself to that deity whose religion he was most devoted to; so it is the same thing now; every one chooses the patron whom he likes best; and one may see here different services going on at the same time, at different altars, with distinct congregations around them, just as the inclinations of the people lead them to the worship of this or that particular saint.

And what better title can the new demi-gods show to the adoration now paid to them, than the old ones, whose shrines they have usurped? Or how comes it to be less criminal to worship images, erected by the pope, than those which Agrippa, or that which Nebuchadnezzar, set up? If there be any real difference, most people, I dare say, will be apt to determine in favor of the old possessors; for those heroes of antiquity were raised up into gods, and received divine honors, for some signal benefits of which they had been the authors to man-

kind; as the invention of arts and sciences, or of something highly useful and necessary to life; whereas of the Romish saints, it is certain that many of them were never heard of, but in their own legends or fabulous histories; and many more, instead of any services done to mankind, owe all the honors now paid to them, to their vices or their errors; whose merit, like that of Demetrius in the Acts,* was their skill in raising rebellions in defence of an idol, and throwing kingdoms into convulsions, for the sake of some gainful imposture.†

And as it is in the Pantheon, it is just the same in all the other heathen temples that still remain in Rome; they have only pulled down one idol, to set up another; and changed rather the name, than the object of their worship. Thus the little temple of Vesta, near the Tiber, mentioned by Horace, is now possessed by the Madonna of the Sun; that of Fortuna Virilis, by Mary the Egyptian; that of Saturn, where the public treasure was anciently kept, by St. Adrian; that of Romulus and Remus in

* Chap. xix. 23.

† Appendix, F.

the Via Sacra, by two other brothers, Cosmas and Damianus; that of Antonine the godly, by Laurence the saint. But for my part, I should sooner be tempted to prostrate myself before the statue of a Romulus or an Antonine, than that of a Laurence or a Damian; and give divine honors rather, with Pagan Rome, to the founders of empires, than, with Popish Rome, to the founders of monasteries.

At the foot of Mount Palatine, in the way between the Forum and Circus Maximus, on the very spot where Romulus was believed to have been suckled by the wolf, there stands another little round temple, dedicated to him in the early times of the republic, into which, on account of the present elevation of the soil without, we now descend by a great number of steps. It is mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who says, that in his time, there stood in it a brazen statue of antique work, of the wolf giving suck to the infant brothers, which is thought by many to be the same which is still preserved and shown in the capitol; though I take this rather, which now remains, to have been another of the

same kind, that stood originally in the capitol, and is mentioned by Cicero to have been there struck with lightning; of which it retains to this day, the evident marks in one of its hinder legs. It is, however, to one or the other of these celebrated statues, that Virgil, as Servius assures us, alludes in that elegant description :

The martial twins beneath their mother lay,
And hanging on her dugs with wanton play,
Securely sucked ; whilst she reclines her head
To lick their tender limbs, and form them as they fed.
[Æn. 8, 631.

But to return to my story, from the tradition of the wonderful escape which Romulus had in this very place, when exposed in his infancy to perish in the Tiber; as soon as he came to be a god, he was looked upon as singularly propitious to the health and safety of young children; from which notion, it became a practice for nurses and mothers to present their sickly infants before his shrine in this little temple, in confidence of a cure or relief by his favor. Now when this temple was converted afterwards into a church, lest any piece of superstition should be lost, or the people think themselves sufferers by the change, in losing

the benefit of such a protection for their children, care was taken to find out, in the place of the heathen god, a *Christian saint*, who had been exposed, too, in his infancy, and found by chance like Romulus, who, for the same reason, might be presumed to be just as fond of children as their old deity had been; and thus the worship paid to Romulus, being now transferred to *Theodorus*, the old superstition still subsists, and the custom of presenting children at this shrine, continues to this day without intermission; of which I myself have been a witness, having seen, as oft as I looked into this church, ten or a dozen women decently dressed, each with a child in her lap, sitting with silent reverence before the altar of the saint, in expectation of his miraculous influence on the health of the infant.

In consecrating these heathen temples to the Popish worship, that the change might be the less offensive, and the old superstition as little shocked as possible, they generally observed some resemblance of quality and character in the saint whom they substituted for the old deity. "If, in converting the profane worship of the Gentiles, (says the

describer of modern Rome*) to the pure and sacred worship of the church, the faithful use to follow some rule and proportion, they have certainly hit upon it here, in dedicating to the Madonna, or holy Virgin, the temple formerly sacred to the *bona dea*, or "good goddess." But they have more frequently, on these occasions, had regard rather to a *similitude of name* between the old and new idol. Thus, in a place formerly sacred to *Apollo*, there now stands the church of *Apollinaris*; built there, as they tell us,† that the profane name of that deity might be converted into the glorious name of this martyr; and where there anciently stood a temple of *Mars*, they have erected a church to *Martina*, with this inscription:

"Martirii gestans virgo Martina coronam,
Ejecto hinc Martis numine, templa tenet."

Mars hence expell'd; Martina, martyr'd maid,
Claims now the worship which to him was paid.

* Si nel rivoltare il profano culto de Gentili nel sacro e vero, osservarono i fedeli qualche proportion, qui la ritrovarono, assai conveniente nel dedicare a Maria Vergine un Templo, ch'era della bona Dea—. [Rom. Mod. Gior. 2. Rion. di Ripa 10.]

† La Chiesa di S. Apollinari fu fabbricata in questo luogo da' Christiani; affinche il profano nome d' Apolline fusse convertito nel santo nome di questo glorioso Martire. [Ibid Gio. 3. 21.]

In another place, I have taken notice of an altar erected to *St. Baccho*; and in their stories of their saints, have observed the names of *Quirinus*, *Romula* and *Redempta*, *Concordia*, *Nympha*, *Mercurius*; which, though they may, for anything that I know, have been the genuine names of Christian martyrs, yet cannot but give occasion to suspect, that some of them, at least, have been formed out of a corruption of the old names; and that the adding of a modern termination, or Italianizing the old name of a deity, has given existence to some of their present saints. Thus the corruption of the word *Soracte*, (the old name of a mountain, mentioned by Horace, in sight of Rome,) has, according to Mr. Addison,* added one saint to the Roman calendar; being now softened, because it begins with an S, into *St. Oreste*; in whose honor a monastery is founded on the place; a change very natural, if we consider that the title of saint is never written by the Italians, at length, but expressed commonly by the single letter S., as *S. Oracte*; and thus this holy mountain stands now under the protection of a patron, whose

* Addison's travels from Pesaro, &c., to Rome.

being and power is just as imaginary, as that of its old guardian, Apollo.

No suspicion of this kind will appear extravagant to those who are at all acquainted with the history of Popery, which abounds with instances of the grossest forgeries both of saints and relicks, which, to the scandal of many even among themselves, have been imposed for genuine on the poor ignorant people. It is certain, that in the earlier ages of Christianity, the Christians often made free with the sepulchral stones of heathen monuments, which, being ready cut to their hands, they converted to their own use; and turning downwards the side on which the old epitaph was engraved, used either to inscribe a new one on the other side, or leave it perhaps without any inscription at all, as they are often found in the catacombs of Rome. Now this one custom has frequently been the occasion of ascribing martyrdom and saintship to persons and names of mere Pagans.

Mabillon gives a remarkable instance of it in an old stone found on the grave of a Christian, with this inscription:

D. M
IVLIA EVODIA
FILIA FECIT.
MATRI.

And because, in the same grave, there was found likewise a glass vial, or lacrymatory vessel, tinged with a reddish color, which they call blood, and look upon as a certain proof of martyrdom, this Julia Evodia, though undoubtedly a heathen, was presently adopted both for saint and martyr, on the authority of an inscription that appears evidently to have been one of those above-mentioned, and borrowed from a heathen sepulchre. But whatever the party there buried, might have been, whether heathen or Christian, it is certain that it could not be Evodia herself, but *her mother only*, whose name is not there signified.

The same author mentions some original papers, which he found in the Barbarine library, giving a pleasant account of a negotiation between the Spaniards and Pope Urban the eighth, in relation to this very subject. The Spaniards, it seems, have a saint, held in great reverence in some parts of Spain, called Viar; for the farther encouragement of whose worship, they solicit-

ed the Pope to grant some special indulgences to his altars. And upon the Pope's desiring to be better acquainted first with his character, and the proofs which they had of his saintship, they produced a stone with these antique letters: S. VIAR., which the antiquaries readily saw to be a small fragment of some old Roman inscription, in memory of one who had been *Præfectus VIARum*, or *overseer of the highways*. •

But we have in England, an instance still more ridiculous, of a fictitious saintship, in the case of a certain saint called Amphibolus; who, according to our monkish historians, was bishop of the isle of Man, and fellow martyr and disciple of St. Alban. Yet the learned bishop Usher has given good reasons to convince us, that he owes the honor of his saintship to a mistaken passage in the old acts or legends of St. Alban; where the Amphibolus mentioned, and since revered as a saint and martyr, was nothing more than the cloak which Alban happened to have at the time of his execution; being a word derived from the Greek, and signifying a rough, shaggy

cloak, which ecclesiastical persons usually wore in that age.

They pretend to show us here at Rome, two original impressions of our Saviour's face, on two different handkerchiefs; the one, sent a present by himself to Agbarus, prince of Edessa, who, by letter, had desired a picture of him; the other, given by him, at the time of his execution, to a saint, or holy woman named Veronica, upon a handkerchief which she had lent him to wipe his face on that occasion; * both which handkerchiefs are still preserved, as they affirm, and now kept with the utmost reverence; the first in St. Silvester's church, the second in St. Peter's; where, in honor of this sacred relick, there is a fine altar built by pope Urban the eighth, with a statue of Veronica herself, with the following inscription:

SALVATORIS IMAGINEM VERONICÆ
SVDARIO EXCEPTAM
VT LOCI MAIESTAS DECENTER
CVSTODIRET URBANVS VIII.
PONT. MAX.
MARMOREVM SIGNVM
ET ALTARE ADDIDIT CONDITORIVM
EXTRVXIT ET ORNAVIT.

* There is a prayer in their books of offices, ordered

But notwithstanding the authority of this Pope and his inscription, this Veronica, as one of their best authors has shown, (like Amphibolus before mentioned,) was not any real person, but the name given to the picture itself by the old writers, who mention it; being formed by blundering and confounding the words VERA ICON, or *true image*, the title inscribed, perhaps, or given originally to the handkerchief, by the first contrivers of the imposture.

These stories, however, as fabulous and childish as they appear to men of sense, are yet urged by grave authors in defence of their image-worship, as certain proofs of its divine origin, and sufficient to confound all the impious opposers of it.

I shall add nothing more on this article, than that whatever worship was paid by the ancients to their heroes or inferior deities, the Romanists now pay the same to their saints and martyrs, as their own inscriptions plainly declare; which, like those

by the rubric, to be addressed to this sacred and miraculous picture, in the following terms: "Conduct us, O! thou blessed figure, to our proper home, where we may behold the pure face of Christ."—See *Confirm. of Anc. and Mod. Ceremonies*, p. 158.

mentioned above, of St. Martina and the Pantheon, generally signify, that the honors which of old had been impiously given in that place to the false God, are now piously and rightly transferred to the Christian saint; or as one of their celebrated poets expresses himself in regard to St. George :

“As Mars our fathers once ador'd, so now,
To thee, O ! George, we humbly, prostrate bow.”

And everywhere through Italy, one sees their sacred inscriptions speaking the pure language of Paganism, and ascribing the same powers, characters, and attributes to their saints, which had formerly been ascribed to the heathen gods; as the few here exhibited, will evince :

Popish inscriptions.

MARIA ET FRANCISCE
TUTELARES MEI.

DIVO EVSTORGIO
QVI HVIC TEMPLO
PRAESIDET.

NVMINI
DIVI GEORGH

POLLENTIS. POTENTIS
INVICTI.

DIVIS.

PRAESTITIBVS IUVANTIBVS
GEORGIO. STEPHANOQVE
CVM DEO OPT. MAX.

Pagan inscriptions.

MERCVRIO ET MINERVAE
DIIS TVTELARIB.

DII QVI HVIC TEMPLO
PRAESIDENT.

NVMINI
MERCVRII SACR.

MERCVRII. VICTORI.
POLLENTI. POTENTI
INVICTO.

PRAESTITI IOVI.
S.

DIIS
DEABVS
QVE. CVM
IOVE.

Boldonius censures the author of the last inscription, for the absurdity of putting the saints before God himself; and imitating too closely the ancient inscription, which I have set against it, where the same impropriety is committed in regard to Jupiter.

As to that celebrated act of Popish idolatry, *the adoration of the host*, I must confess that I cannot find the least resemblance of it in any part of the Pagan worship; and as often as I have been standing by at mass, and seen the whole congregation prostrate on the ground, in the humblest posture of adoring, at the elevation of this consecrated piece of bread, I could not help reflecting on a passage of Tully, where, speaking of the absurdity of the heathen in the choice of their gods: "But was any man," says he, "ever so mad, as to take that which he feeds upon, for a god?" * This was an extravagance reserved for Popery alone; and what an old Roman could not but think too gross even for Egyptian idolatry to swallow, is now become the principal part of worship, and the distinguish-

* Sed ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, Deum credat esse? [Cic. de Nat. Deor. 3.]

ing article of faith, in the creed of modern Rome.

But their temples are not the only places where we see the proofs and overt acts of their superstition. The whole face of the country has the visible characters of Paganism upon it; and wherever we look about us, we cannot but find, as St. Paul did in Athens, clear evidence of its being possessed by a superstitious and idolatrous people.

The old Romans, we know, had their gods, who presided peculiarly over the roads, streets and highways, called *Viales*, *Semitales*, *Compitales*; whose little temples or altars decked with flowers, or whose statues at least, coarsely carved of wood or stone, were placed at convenient distances in the public ways, for the benefit of travellers, who used to step aside to pay their devotions to these rural shrines, and beg a prosperous journey and safety in their travels. Now this custom prevails still so generally in all popish countries, but especially in Italy, that one can see no other difference between the old and present superstition, than that of changing the name of the

deity, and christening as it were the old *Hecate in triviis*, by the new name of Maria in Trivio; by which title, I have observed one of their churches dedicated in this city. And as the heathen used to paint over the ordinary statues of their gods, with red, or some such gay color, so I have oft observed the coarse images of these saints so daubed over with a gaudy red, as to resemble exactly the description of the god Pan in Virgil.

“His cheeks and temples of vermilian hue.”

[Ecl. 10.]

In passing along the road, it is common to see travellers on their knees before these rustic altars, which none ever presume to approach without some act of reverence; and those who are most in haste, or at a distance, are sure to pull off their hats, at least, in token of respect. And I took notice that our postilions used to look back upon us, to see how we behaved on such occasions, and seemed surprized at our passing so negligently before places esteemed so sacred.

But besides these images and altars, there are frequently erected on the road, huge

wooden crosses, dressed out with flowers, and hung round with the trifling offerings of the country people; which always put me in mind of the superstitious veneration which the heathen used to pay to some old trunks of trees or posts, set up in the highways, which they held sacred; or of that venerable oak in Ovid, covered with garlands and votive offerings.

“Reverend with age, a stately oak there stood,
Its branches widely stretch’d, itself a wood,
With ribbands, garlands, pictures cover’d o’er,
The fruits of pious vows from rich and poor.”
[Met. 8.]

This description of the Pagan oak puts me in mind of a story that I have met with here, of a Popish oak very like it, viz. how a certain person, devoted to the worship of the virgin, hung up a picture of her in an oak that he had in his vineyard, which grew so famous for its miracles, that the oak soon became covered with votive offerings, and rich presents from distant countries, so as to furnish a fund at last for the building of a great church to the miraculous picture; which now stands dedicated in this city, under the title of St. Mary of the oak.

But what gave me still the greater notion of the superstition of these countries, was to see those *little oratories*, or *rural shrines*, sometimes placed under the cover of a tree or grove, agreeably to the descriptions of the old idolatry in the sacred as well as profane writers; or more generally raised on some eminence, or, in the phrase of Scripture, on high places, the constant scene of idolatrous worship in all ages; it being an universal opinion among the heathen, that the gods, in a peculiar manner, loved to reside on eminences or tops of mountains; which Pagan notion prevails still so generally with the Papists, that there is hardly a rock or precipice, how dreadful or difficult soever of access, that has not an oratory or altar, or crucifix at least, planted on the top of it.

Among the rugged mountains of the Alps, in Savoy, very near to a little town called Modana, there stands, on the top of a rock, a chapel, with a miraculous image of our lady, which is visited with great devotion by the people, and sometimes, we were told, by the king himself; being famous, it seems, for a miracle of a singular kind, viz. *the restoring of dead-born children to life*; but

so far only as to make them capable of baptism, after which they again expire. And our landlord assured me, that there was daily proof of the truth of this miracle, in children brought from all quarters to be presented before this shrine; who never failed to show manifest tokens of life, by stretching out their arms, or opening their eyes, or even sometimes making water, whilst they were held by the priest in presence of the image. All which appeared so ridiculous to a French gentleman who was with me at the place, but had not heard the story from our landlord, that he looked upon it as a banter or fiction of my own, until I brought him to my author, who, with his wife, as well as our *voiturins*,* very seriously testified the truth of it; and added farther, that when the French army passed that way in the last war, they were so impious as to throw down this sacred image to the bottom of a vast precipice hard by it, which, though of wood only, was found below entire and unhurt by the fall, and so was replaced in its shrine, with greater

* Persons who let horses.

honor than ever, by the attestation of this new miracle.

On the top of Mount Senis, the highest mountain of the Alps, covered with perpetual snow, they have another chapel, in which they perform divine service once a year, in the month of August, and sometimes, as our guides informed us, to the destruction of the whole congregation, by the accident of a sudden tempest in a place so elevated and exposed. And this surely comes up to the description of that worship, which the Jews were commanded to extirpate from the face of the earth. "Ye shall utterly destroy the places wherein the nations served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree. And ye shall overthrow their altars, break their pillars, burn their groves, and hew down the graven images of their gods."*

When we enter their towns, the case is still the same as it was in the country; we find everywhere the same marks of idolatry, and the same reasons to make us fancy

* Deuteron xii. 2, 3.

that we are still treading Pagan ground; whilst at every corner we see images and altars, with lamps or candles burning before them, exactly answering to the descriptions of the ancient writers, and to what Tertullian reproaches the heathen with, that their streets, their markets, their baths, were not without an idol. But above all, in the pomp and solemnity of their *holy-days*, and especially their *religious processions*, we see the genuine remains of heathenism, and proof enough to convince us that this is still the same Rome, which old Numa first tamed and civilized by the arts of religion; who, as Plutarch says, "By the institution of supplications and processions to the gods, which inspire reverence, whilst they give pleasure to the spectators, and by pretended miracles, and divine apparitions, reduced the fierce spirits of his subjects under the power of superstition."

The descriptions of the religious pomps and processions of the heathen come so near to what we see on every festival of the virgin or other Romish saint, that one can hardly help thinking these Popish ones to be still regulated by the old ceremonial of

Pagan Rome. At these solemnities, the chief magistrate used frequently to assist in robes of ceremony, attended by the priests in surplices, with wax candles in their hands, carrying upon a pageant or thensa the images of their gods, dressed out in their best clothes. These were usually followed by the principal youth of the place, in white linen vestments or surplices, singing hymns in honor of the god whose festival they were celebrating, accompanied by crowds of all sorts that were initiated in the same religion, all with flambeaux or ~~wax~~ candles in their hands. This is the account which Apuleius and other authors give us of a Pagan procession; and I may appeal to all who have been abroad, whether it might not pass quite as well for the description of a Popish one. Monsieur Tournefort, in his travels through Greece, reflects upon the Greek church for having retained and taken into their present worship many of the old rites of heathenism, and particularly that of carrying and dancing about the images of the saints, in their processions, to singing and music. The reflection is full as applicable to his own, as

it is to the Greek church; and the practice itself is so far from giving scandal in Italy, that the learned publisher of the Florentine inscriptions takes occasion to show the conformity between them and the heathen, from this very instance of carrying about the pictures of their saints, as the Pagans did those of their gods, in their sacred processions.

In one of these processions, made lately to St. Peter's, in the time of Lent, I saw that ridiculous penance of the *flagellantes* or *self-whippers*, who march with whips in their hands, and lash themselves as they go along, on the bare back, till it is all covered with blood, in the same manner as the fanatical priests of Bellona or the Syrian goddess, as well as the votaries of Isis, used to slash and cut themselves of old, in order to please the goddess, by the sacrifice of their own blood; which mad piece of discipline we find frequently mentioned, and as oft ridiculed, by the ancient writers.*

But they have another exercise of the same kind, and in the same season of Lent, which, under the notion of penance, is still

* Appendix, G.

a more absurd mockery of all religion; when, on a certain day, appointed annually for this discipline, men of all conditions assemble themselves towards the evening, in one of the churches of the city, where whips or lashes made of cords, are provided and distributed to every person present; and after they are all served, and a short office of devotion is performed, the candles being put out, upon the warning of a little bell, the whole company begin presently to strip, and try the force of these whips on their own backs, for the space of near an hour; during all which time, the church becomes, as it were, the proper image of hell; where nothing is heard but the noise of lashes and chains, mixed with the groans of these self-tormenters; till satiated with their exercise, they are content to put on their clothes, and the candles being lighted again, upon the tinkling of a second bell, they all appear in their proper dress.

Seneca, alluding to the very same effects of fanaticism in Pagan Rome, says: "So great is the force of it on disordered minds, that they try to appease the gods by such methods as an enraged man would hardly

take to revenge himself. But, if there be any gods who desire to be worshipped after this manner, they do not deserve to be worshipped at all; since the very worst of tyrants, though they have sometimes torn and tortured people's limbs, yet have never commanded men to torture themselves." But there is no occasion to imagine that all the blood which seems to flow on these occasions, really comes from the backs of these bigots; for it is probable, that, like their frantic predecessors, they may use some craft, as well as zeal, in this their fury; and I cannot but think that there was a great deal of justice in that edict of the emperor Commodus, with regard to these *Bellonarii*, or whippers of antiquity, though it is usually imputed to his cruelty, when he commanded that they should not be suffered to impose upon the spectators, but be obliged to cut and slash themselves in good earnest.

If I had leisure to examine the *pretended miracles*, and *pious frauds* of the Romish church, I should be able to trace them all from the same source of Paganism, and find that the priests of new Rome are not degenerated from their predecessors in the art

of forging these holy impostures; which, as Livy observes of old Rome, "were always multiplied in proportion to the credulity and disposition of the poor people to swallow them."

In the early times of the republic, in the war with the Latins, the gods Castor and Pollux are said to have appeared on white horses in the Roman army, which, by their assistance, gained a complete victory; in memory of which, the General Posthumius vowed and built a temple publicly to those deities; and for a proof of the fact, there was shown, we find, in Cicero's time, the mark of the horse's hoofs on a rock at Regillum, where they first appeared.

Now this miracle, with many others that I could mention of the same kind, has, I dare say, as authentic an attestation, as any which the Papists can produce; the decree of a senate to confirm it; a temple erected in consequence of it; visible marks of the fact on the spot where it was transacted; and all this supported by the concurrent testimony of the best authors of antiquity; amongst whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus, says, that there were subsisting in his time

at Rome, many evident proofs of its reality, besides a yearly festival, with a solemn sacrifice and procession in memory of it. Yet for all this, these stories were but the jest of men of sense, even in the times of heathenism; and seem so extravagant to us now, that we wonder how there could ever be any so simple as to believe them.

What better opinion, then, can we have of all those of the same stamp in the Popish legends, which they have plainly built on this foundation, and copied from this very original? Nor content with barely copying, they seldom fail to improve the old story, with some additional forgery and invention of their own. Thus, in the present case, instead of two persons on white horses, they take care to introduce three; and not only on *white horses*, but at the head of *white armies*; as in an old history of the holy wars, written by a pretended eye-witness, and published by Mabillon, it is solemnly affirmed of St. George, ~~Demetrius~~, and Theodorus. They show us, too, in several parts of Italy, the marks of hands and feet on rocks and stones, said to have been effected miraculously by the appari-

tion of some saint or angel on the spot; just as the impression of Hercules' feet was shown of old on a stone in Scythia, exactly resembling the footsteps of a man. And they have also many churches and public monuments, erected in testimony of such miracles, viz. of *saints and angels fighting visibly for them in their battles*,* which though always as ridiculous as that above mentioned, are not yet supported by half so good evidence of their reality.

"The religion of Ceres of Enna, was celebrated, as Cicero informs us, with a wonderful devotion, both in public and private, through all Sicily; for her presence and divinity had been frequently manifested to them by numerous prodigies, and many people had received immediate help from her in their utmost distress. Her image, therefore, in that temple, was held in such

* There is an altar of marble in St. Peter's, one of the greatest pieces of modern sculpture, representing in figures as large as the life, the story of Attila, king of the Huns, who, in full march towards Rome, with a victorious army, in order to pillage it, was frightened and driven back by the apparition of an angel, in the time of Pope Leo the first.

The castle and church of *St. Angelo*, have their title from the apparition of an angel over the place, in the time of Gregory the great.

• veneration, that whenever men beheld it, they fancied themselves beholding either Ceres herself, or the figure of her at least not made by human hands, but dropt down to them from heaven." Now, if in the place of *Ceres of Enna*, we should insert into this relation, *our lady of Loretto*, or of *Impruneta*, or any other miraculous image in Italy; the very same account would suit as exactly with the history of the modern saint, as it is told by the present Romans, as it formerly did with that of Ceres, as it is transmitted to us by the ancients. And what else, indeed, are all their miraculous images, which we see in every great town, said to be made by angels, and sent to them from heaven, but mere copies of the ancient fables, of the *diopetes agalma*, or *image of Diana dropt from the clouds*; or the *Paladium of Troy*, which, according to old authors, was a wooden statue three cubits long, which fell from heaven.

In one of their churches here, they show a picture of the virgin, which, as their writers affirm, was brought down from heaven with great pomp, and after having hung a while with surprising lustre in the

air, in the sight of all the clergy and people of Rome, was delivered by angels into the hands of Pope John the first, who marched out in solemn procession, in order to receive this celestial present. And is not this exactly of a piece with the old Pagan story of king Numa, when, in this same city, he issued from his palace, with priest and people after him, and with public prayer and solemn devotion, received the *ancil* or *heavenly shield*, which, in the presence of all the people of Rome, was sent down to him with much the same formality from the clouds? And as that wise prince, for the security of his heavenly present, ordered several others to be made so exactly like it, that the original could not be distinguished, so the Romish priests have thence taken the hint to form after each celestial pattern, a number of copies, so perfectly resembling each other, as to occasion endless squabbles among themselves about their several pretensions to the divine original.

The rod of Moses, with which he performed his miracles, is still preserved, as they pretend, and shown here with great devotion, in one of the principal churches.

And just so the rod of Romulus, with which he performed his auguries, was preserved by the priests, as a sacred relick in old Rome, and kept with great reverence from being touched or handled by the people; which rod, too, like most of the Popish relicks, had the testimony of a miracle in proof of its sanctity; for when the temple where it was kept, was burnt to the ground, it was found entire under the ashes, and untouched by the flames; which same miracle has been borrowed and exactly copied by the present Romans, in many instances; particularly in a miraculous image of our Saviour in St. John Lateran, over which the flames, it seems, had no power, though the church itself has been twice destroyed by fire.

Nothing is more common among the miracles of Popery, than to hear of images, that on certain occasions *had spoken*, or *shed tears*, or *sweat*, or *bled*; and do not we find the very same stories in all the heathen writers? Of which I could bring numberless examples from old as well as new Rome, from Pagan as well as Popish legends. Rome, as the describer of it says,

abounds with these treasures, or speaking images; but he laments the negligence of their ancestors, in not recording, so particularly as they ought, the very words and other circumstances of such conversations. They show us here an image of the virgin, which reprimanded Gregory the great, for passing by her too carelessly; and, in St. Paul's church, a crucifix, which spoke to St. Bridget. Durantus mentions another Madonna, which spoke to the sexton, in commendation of the piety of one of her votaries. And did not the image of Fortune do the same, or more, in old Rome? Which, as authors say, spoke twice in praise of those matrons who had dedicated a temple to her.

They have a church here dedicated to St. Mary the weeper, or to a Madonna famous for shedding tears. They show an image, too, of our Saviour, which for some time before the sacking of Rome, wept so heartily, that the good fathers of the monastery were all employed in wiping its face with cotton. And was not the case just the same among their ancestors, when, on the approach of some public calamity, the

statue of Apollo, as Livy tells us, wept for three days and nights successively? They have another church built in honor of an image which bled very plentifully from a blow given to it by a blasphemer. And were not the old idols, too, as full of blood, when, as Livy relates, all the images in the temple of Juno were seen to sweat with drops of it?

All which prodigies, as well modern as ancient, are derived from the same source, viz., the contrivance of priests or governors, in order to draw some gain or advantage out of the poor people, whom they thus impose upon.

Xenophon, though himself much addicted to superstition, speaking of the prodigies which preceded the battle of Leuctra, and portended victory to the Thebans, tells us that some people looked upon them all as forged and contrived by the magistrate, the better to animate and encourage the multitude; and as the originals themselves were but impostures, it is no wonder that the copies of them appear such gross and bungling forgeries.

I have observed a story in Herodotus, not

unlike the account which is given of the famed travels of the *house of Loretto*,* of certain sacred mystical things that travelled about from country to country, and after many removals and journeys, settled at last for good and all, in Delos. But this imposture of the holy house, might be suggested rather, as Mr. Addison has observed,† by the extraordinary veneration paid in old Rome, to the *cottage of its founder, Romulus*; which was held sacred by the people, and repaired with great care from time to time, with the same kind of materials, so as to be kept up in the same form in which it was originally built. It was turned also, I find, like this other cottage of our lady, into a temple, and had divine service performed in it, till it happened to be burnt down by the fire of a sacrifice in the time of Augustus. But what makes the similitude still more remarkable, is, that this pretended cottage of Romulus was shown on the Capitoline hill; whereas, it is certain that Romulus himself lived on Mount Palatin; so that if it had really been the house

* Appendix, H.

† Addison's Travels from Pesaro to Rome.

of Romulus, it must needs, like the holy house of Loretto, have taken a leap in the air, and suffered a miraculous translation, though not from so great a distance, yet from one hill at least to the other.

But if we follow their own writers, it is not the holy house of Loretto, but the homely cradle of our Saviour, that we should compare rather with the little house of Romulus, which cradle is now shown in St. Mary the great, and on Christmas-day exposed on the high altar to the adoration of the people, being held in the same veneration by present Rome, as the humble cottage of its founder had been by its old inhabitants. "Rome," says Baronius, "is now in possession of that noble monument of Christ's nativity, made only of wood, without any ornament of silver or gold, and is made more happily illustrious by it, than it was of old by the cottage of Romulus; which, though built only with mud and straw, our ancestors preserved with great care for many ages."

The melting of St. Januarius' blood at Naples, whenever it is brought to his head, which is done with great solemnity on the

day of his festival, whilst at all other times it continues dried and congealed in a glass phial, is one of the standing and most authentic miracles of Italy. Yet Mr. Addison,* who twice saw it performed, assures us, that instead of appearing to be a real miracle, he thought it one of the most bungling tricks that he had ever seen.

Mabillon's account of the fact, seems to solve it very naturally, without the help of a miracle; for during the time that a mass or two are celebrated in the church, the other priests are tampering with this phial of blood, which is suspended all the while in such a situation that as soon as any part of it begins to melt by the heat of their hands, or other management, it drops of course into the lower side of the glass which is empty; upon the first discovery of which, the miracle is proclaimed aloud, to the great joy and edification of the people.

But by what way soever it be effected, it is plainly nothing else but the copy of an old cheat of the same kind, transacted near the same place, which Horace makes himself merry with in his journey to Brundu-

* Addison's Travels at Naples.

sium; telling us, how the priests would have imposed upon him and his friends, at a town called Gnatia, by persuading them, that the frankincense in the temple used to dissolve and melt miraculously of itself, without the help of fire.

In the cathedral church of Ravenna, I saw in mosaic work, the pictures of those archbishops of the place, who, as all their historians affirm, were chosen for several ages successively by the special designation of the Holy Ghost, who, in a full assembly of the clergy and people, used to descend visibly on the person elect, in the shape of a dove. If the fact of such a descent be true, it will easily be accounted for by a passage in Aulus Gellius, (whence the hint was probably taken,) who tells us of Archytas the philosopher and mathematician, that he formed a pigeon of wood so artificially, as to make it fly by the power of mechanism, just as he directed it. And we find from Strada, that many tricks of this kind were actually contrived for the diversion of Charles the fifth, in his monastery, by one Turrianus, who made little birds fly

out of the room, and back again, by his great skill in machinery.

It would be endless to run through all the Popish miracles, which are evidently forged, or copied from the originals of Paganism; since there is scarce a prodigy in the old historians, or a fable in the old poets, but what is transcribed into their legends, and swallowed by their silly bigots, as certain and undoubted facts.

The story of Arion the musician, riding triumphant with his harp, on the back of a dolphin that took him up when thrown overboard at sea, is, one would think, too grossly fabulous to be applied to any purpose of Christian superstition. Yet our present Romans so far surpass the old in fable and imposture, that out of this single story they have coined many of the same stamp, viz. of dolphins taking up and bringing ashore with great pomp, several of their saints, both dead and alive, who had been thrown into the sea by infidels, either to drown, or to deprive them of burial.

The fable of the harpies, those furies or winged monsters, who were so troublesome

to Æneas and his companions, seems to be copied in the very first church within the walls of Rome, close to the gate of the people, as it is called, by which we enter it from the north; where there is an altar with a public inscription, signifying that it was built by Pope Paschal the second, by divine inspiration, in order to drive away a nest of huge demons or monsters, who used to perch upon a tree in that very place, and terribly insult all who entered the city.

The Popish writers themselves are forced to allow, that many both of their relicks and their miracles have been forged by the craft of priests, for the sake of money and lucre. Durantus, a zealous defender of all their ceremonies, gives several instances of the former; particularly of the bones of a common thief, which had for some time been honored with an altar, and worshipped under the title of a saint. And for the latter: Lyra, in his "Comment on Bel and the Dragon," observes, that "Sometimes, also, in the church, very great cheats are put upon the people, by false miracles, contrived, or countenanced at least, by their priests for some gain and temporal advan-

tage." And what their own authors confess of some of their miracles, we may venture, without any breach of charity, to believe of them all; nay, we cannot indeed believe anything else without impiety, and without supposing God to concur, in an extraordinary manner, to the establishment of fraud, error, and superstition in the world.

The *refuge* or *protection* given to all who fly to the church for shelter, is a privilege directly transferred from the heathen temples to the Popish churches, and has been practised in Rome, from the time of its founder, Romulus, who, in imitation of the cities of Greece, opened an asylum or sanctuary to fugitives of all nations.

But we may observe the great moderation of Pagan, above that of Popish Rome, in regard to this custom; for I do not remember that there was ever more than *one* asylum in the times of the republic; whereas, there are now some hundreds in the same city. And when that single one, which was opened rather for the increase of its inhabitants, than the protection of criminals, was found in the end to give too great encouragement to mischief and licentiousness,

they inclosed it round in such a manner, as to hinder all access to it; whereas, the present Popish sanctuaries stand perpetually open, not to receive strangers, but to *shelter villains*; so that it may literally be said of these, what our Saviour said of the Jewish temple, that they have turned the house of prayer into a den of thieves.

In the early ages of Christianity, there were many limitations put upon the use of this privilege by emperors and councils; and the greater crimes of murder, adultery, theft, &c., were especially excepted from the benefit of it; but now they scruple not to receive to sanctuary even the most detestable crimes; and it is owing, without doubt, to this policy of holy church, that murders are so common with them in Italy, on slight provocations; whilst there is a church always at hand, and always open, to secure offenders from legal punishment; several of whom have been shown to me in different places, walking about at their ease and in full security within the bounds of their sanctuary.

In their very *priesthood*, they have contrived, one would think, to keep up as near

a resemblance as they could, to that of Pagan Rome; and the sovereign Pontiff, instead of deriving his succession from St. Peter, (who, if ever he was at Rome, did not reside there at least in any worldly pomp or splendor,) may, with more reason, and a much better plea, stile himself the successor of the Pontifex Maximus, or chief priest of old Rome; whose authority and dignity was the greatest in the republic; and who was looked upon as the arbiter or judge of all things, civil as well as sacred, human as well as divine; whose power, established almost with the foundation of the city, "was an omen, (says Polydore Virgil) and sure presage of that priestly majesty, by which Rome was once again to reign as universally as it had done before by the force of its arms."

But of all the sovereign Pontiffs of Pagan Rome, it is very remarkable, that Caligula was the first who ever offered his foot to be kissed by any who approached him; which raised a general indignation through the city, to see themselves reduced to suffer so great an indignity. Those who endeavored to excuse it, said that it was not done out

of insolence, but vanity, and for the sake of showing his golden slipper, set with jewels. Seneca declaims upon it, in his usual manner, as the last affront to liberty, and the introduction of a Persian slavery into the manners of Rome. Yet this servile act, unworthy either to be imposed or complied with by man, is now *the standing ceremonial of Christian Rome*, and a necessary condition of access to the reigning Popes; though derived from no better origin than the frantic pride of a brutal Pagan tyrant.

The great variety of their *religious orders and societies of priests*, seems to have been formed upon the plan of the old colleges or fraternities of the Augurs, Pontifices, Salii, Fratres Arvales, &c. The vestal virgins might furnish the hint for the foundation of nunneries; and I have observed something very like the rules and austerities of the monastic life, in the character and manner of several priests of the heathen, who used to live by themselves, retired from the world, near to the temple or oracle of the deity to whose particular service they were devoted;

as the *Selli*, the priests of Dodonæan Jove,
a self-mortifying race,

" Whose groves the *Selli*, race austere, surround ;
Their feet unwash'd, their slumbers on the ground."*
[Il. 17, 234.]

But above all, in the old descriptions of the *lazy mendicant priests* among the heathen, who used to travel from house to house, with sacks on their backs, and, from an opinion of their sanctity, raise large contributions of money, bread, wine, and all kind of victuals, for the support of their fraternity, we see the very picture of the *begging friars*, who are always about the streets in the same habit, and on the same errand, and never fail to carry home with them a good sack full of provisions for the use of their convent.

Cicero, in his book of laws, restrains this practice of begging, or gathering alms, to

* From the character of these *Selli*, or, as others call them, *Elli*, the monks of the Pagan world, seated in the fruitful soil of Dodona, abounding, as Hesiod describes it, with everything that could make life easy and happy, and whither no man ever approached them without an offering in his hands, we may learn whence their successors of modern times have derived that peculiar skill or prescriptive right, of choosing the richest part of every country, for the place of their settlement.

one particular order of priests, and that only on certain days; because, as he says, it propagates superstition, and impoverishes families. Which, by the way, may let us see the policy of the church of Rome, in the great care that they have taken to multiply their begging orders.

I could easily carry on this parallel, through many more instances of the Pagan and Popish ceremonies, if I had not already said enough to show from what spring all that superstition flows, which we so justly charge them with, and how vain an attempt it must be, to justify by the principles of Christianity, a worship formed upon the plan, and after the very pattern of pure heathenism.* I shall not trouble myself with inquiring at what time, and in what manner, these several corruptions were introduced into the church; whether they were contrived by the intrigues and avarice of priests, who found their advantage in reviving and propagating impostures which had been of old so profitable to their predecessors; or whether the genius of Rome was so strongly turned to fanaticism and

* Appendix, I.

superstition, that they were forced, in condescension to the humor of the people, to dress up their new religion to the modes and fopperies of the old. This, I know, is the principle by which their own writers defend themselves, as oft as they are attacked on this head.

Aringhus, in his account of subterraneous Rome, acknowledges this conformity between the Pagan and Popish rites, and defends the admission of the ceremonies of heathenism into the service of the church, by the authority of their wisest Popes and governors, "who found it necessary," he says, "in the conversion of the Gentiles, to dissemble and wink at many things, and yield to the times; and not to use force against customs which the people were so obstinately fond of; nor to think of extirpating at once everything that had the appearance of profane; but to supersede, in some measure, the obligation of the sacred laws; till these converts, convinced by degrees, and informed of the whole truth, by the suggestions of the Holy Spirit, should be content to submit in earnest to the yoke of Christ."

It is by the same principles, that the Jesuits defend the concessions . which they make at this day to their proselytes in China; who, where pure Christianity will not go down, never scruple to compound the matter between Jesus and Confucius, and prudently allow, what the stiff old prophets so impolitically condemned, a partnership between God and Baal; of which, though they have often been accused at the court of Rome, yet I have never heard, that their conduct has been censured.* But this kind of reasoning, how plausible soever it may be with regard to the first ages of Christianity, or to nations just converted from Paganism, is so far excusing the present Gentilism of the church of Rome, that it is a direct condemnation of it; since the necessity alledged for the practice, if ever it had any real force, has not, at least for many ages past, at all subsisted; and their toleration of such practices, however useful at first for reconciling heathen to Christianity, seems now to be the readiest way to drive Christians back again to heathenism.

* Appendix, J.

But it is high time, for me to conclude, being persuaded, if I do not flatter myself too much, that I have sufficiently made good what I first undertook to prove: an exact conformity, or uniformity, rather, of worship, between Popery and Paganism; for since, as I have shown above, we see the present people of Rome worshipping in the same temples, at the same altars, sometimes the same images, and always with the same ceremonies, as the old Romans; they must have more charity, as well as skill in distinguishing, than I pretend to have, who can absolve them from the same superstition and idolatry, of which we condemn their Pagan ancestors.*

* Appendix, K.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

It is objected by the Romanists, that the burning of incense was received by them, not from the heathen temples, but the Jewish. The rite is enjoined in the Jewish law, Ex. 30 : 7. To this, Dr. Middleton replies,

1. That this, like the other Jewish rites, was not designed to be perpetual.

2. That during its continuance, it could rightfully be performed in no temple but that at Jerusalem.

3. That there was never "a temple in the world, not strictly heathenish, in which were *several* altars, all smoking with incense at one and the same time." Yet this is the case with thousands of churches, in Popish countries, at the present time; which proves that the rite was borrowed from the heathen.

4. The Romish use of incense is very similar to that for which God reprov'd his ancient covenant people. The Jews of old, "burned incense to *the queen of heaven*; (Jer. 44 : 17.)

and the Romanists now burn incense to Mary, under the same profane and heathenish title.

NOTE B.

The profane and ridiculous rite of sprinkling horses, asses, and other cattle, is said to have originated from the following alleged miracle, as detailed by Jerome : “ A Christian of Gaza, who kept a stable of race horses for the Circensian games, was always beaten by his antagonist, who was an idolator. For the idolator, by the help of certain charms and diabolical imprecations, constantly damped the spirit of the Christian’s horses, and added courage to his own. The Christian, therefore, in despair, applied to St. Hilarion, and implored his assistance. But the saint was unwilling to meddle with an affair so frivolous and profane, till the Christian urged it as a necessary defence against these adversaries of God, whose insults were levelled, not so much at him, as at the *church of Christ* ; and his entreaties being seconded by the monks who were present, the saint ordered his earthen jug, out of which he used to drink, to be filled with water and delivered to the man ; who presently sprinkled his stable, his horses, his charioteers, his chariot, and the very boundaries of the course, with the water. Upon this, the whole city was in wondrous expect-

tation. The idolators derided what the Christians had done; while the Christians took courage, and assured themselves of victory. When the signal was given for the race, the Christian's horses seemed almost to fly; while the idolator's were laboring behind, and left quite out of sight; so that the Pagans themselves were constrained to cry out, that their god was conquered by Christ." [Works of Jerome, vol. 4, part 2, p. 80.]

The Rev. Dr. Gustiniani, formerly a Romish priest, but now a minister of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, writes as follows: "If I could lead my readers, on the 17th of January, to the church of St. Antoin at Rome, I am convinced they would not know whether to laugh at the ridiculous religious performances, or weep over the heathenish practices, of the church of Rome. They would there see a priest in his sacerdotal garments, with a stole over his neck, and a brush in his right hand, sprinkling the *mules, asses, and horses* with holy water; and praying for them, and with them, and blessing them, in order that they may be preserved through the year from famine and danger, sickness and death, for the sake and merits of the holy Antony. The scene is so grotesque, that no American can have any idea of it, and hea-

then priests would be ashamed of it. The kicking of mules, the neighing of horses, the braying of asses, the shouting of the multitude, the ridicule of Protestants who reside at Rome — all together go to constitute a spectacle which would shock, not only Americans, but the very heathen, and must be abominable in the sight of God. Yet all this is yearly practiced by the priests of Rome, in the so called metropolis of the Christian world, and under the sanction of the self-styled infallible head of the church."

NOTE C.

The use of lamps in the churches, was condemned by many of the primitive bishops and presbyters, and by the first Christian emperors, as a superstitious and heathenish practice. "They light up candles to God," says Lactantius, "as if he lived in the dark. Surely, they ought to pass for *madmen*, who offer lamps to the Author and giver of all light."

Vigilantius incurred the hostility of Jerome, for writing against "monkery, the celibacy of the clergy, praying for the dead, worshipping the relics of martyrs, and *lighting up candles to them, after the manner of the Pagans.*" "We see," says he, "*a Pagan rite* introduced into our churches, under the pretext of religion;

when heaps of *wax candles* are *lighted up in clear sun-shine*, and people everywhere kissing and adoring, I know not what, contemptible dust, preserved in a little vessel, and wrapped up in precious linen. These men do great honor to the blessed martyrs, no doubt *by lighting up paltry candles to those whom the Lamb, in the midst of the throne, illuminates with all the lustre of his majesty*!! Vigilantius deserves to be called the Wickliffe of his age.

NOTE D.

In defence of their *donaria* or *votive offerings*, the Papists allege, "that things innocent in themselves, cannot be rendered unlawful, for having been abused by the heathen; and that it cannot be offensive to the true God, that those who believe themselves to have received favors from him, through the prayers of his saints, should make a public acknowledgment of it."

To this Dr. Middleton thus replies: "Can a practice be called innocent, which is a *confessed copy* of paganish superstition; which tends to weaken our dependence upon God, and to place it on those who are not now in a condition to help us; which inculcates the same veneration for the Christian saints, which the pagans paid to their subordinate deities, and transfers the honor due to God, to the altars of departed mor-

tals? Such a worship, I say, so far from being innocent, must necessarily be condemned by all unprejudiced men, as profane and idolatrous."

NOTE E.

While the churches of the Romanists, in every part of the world, are sufficiently stored with pictures and images, and their rubric enjoins prayers to the saints, they are exceedingly anxious to escape the charge of idolatry. They attempt, in some instances, to do this, by the force of a *definition*. "Idols," says the respondent of Dr. Middleton, "are such images only as are set up for *gods*, and honored as such; or in which some divinity or power is believed by their worshippers to reside, who accordingly offer prayers and sacrifices to them, and put their trust in them." "And such," replies Dr. Middleton, "are *the idols of the Papists*." And this he goes on to substantiate by a great variety of proof. As,

1. Their idols are declared to *work miracles*. Take the following as an example: "Before the glorious picture of St. Dominic," says the biographer of the saint, "great numbers of the dead have been restored to life, and hundreds from the agonies of death. The dumb, the blind, the deaf, the lame, have been cured, and

all sorts of diseases and mortal wounds miraculously healed."

2. Before the pictures or images of the saints, *religious worship* is offered to them. The following is part of a prayer offered to the virgin Mary, while her picture was carried in solemn procession at Impruneta, in Italy: "There is no one who can be saved, O! most holy virgin, but through thee. There is no one who can be delivered from evils, but through thee. There is no one from whom we can obtain mercy, but through thee. Mary, indeed, opens the bosom of her mercy to all, so that the whole universe receives out of her fullness. The captive receives redemption; the sick, a cure; the sad, comfort; the sinner, pardon; the just, grace; the angels, joy; the whole Trinity, glory."

3. The saints, or their images, are *trusted to*, to relieve distress, and deliver from danger. Of this we need no other proof than the constant practice of flying to the images, whenever dangers or evils invade, and crying to them for relief.

The opponent of Dr. Middleton would have us believe, "that all the devotion paid to the saints, extends no farther than to *desire their prayers*; and that the pictures and images of them which we see in the churches, are no more

than *memorials*, designed to express our esteem for the persons so represented; or as *helps* to raise our affections to heavenly things. And every child among us," says he, "knows this to be true." And yet, replies Dr. Middleton, "I have demonstrated, from public inscriptions, as well as from the explicit testimony of their own writers, that images are placed in their churches, as the proper objects of *religious adoration*; and that they ascribe to them, or to the *Divi* represented by them, the very same titles, powers, and attributes which the heathen ascribed to their deities; invoking them as tutelary divinities—as presiding over their temples and the affairs of men—as most powerful, invincible, and always ready to help and relieve their votaries."

Finally, Dr. Middleton presses his antagonist with the following inquiry. "Was there ever a temple in the world, not purely heathenish, in which there were *images, erected on altars, for the purpose of religious worship*? There were such in the temples of Egypt, from the earliest antiquity. There were many such in Pagan Greece and Rome. And there are still as many in *Christian* Rome; to whom the present Romans pay their vows and offer prayers, as their inclinations severally lead them to this or that

particular altar. If, then, there never was an image in the temple of the true God, in any period of the world, but a perpetual use of them in all the temples of the heathen; it is idle to dispute about their origin. The thing is evident, to a demonstration. Images must necessarily be derived to the present Romans, from those who have always used, and not from those who have always *detested* them; i. e. from their *Pagan*, and not from their *Christian* ancestors."

NOTE F.

It is confessed and lamented by learned Romanists, that the names and worship of many *pretended* saints, who never had any real existence, have been fraudulently imposed upon their church. The celebrated Dr. John de Launay was famous for clearing the calendar of several who had long been worshipped in France, as the tutelary *Divi* of some of the principal towns; so that it used to be said of him, that "there never passed a year, in which he did not pluck some saint out of paradise."

In the catacombs of Rome, which, in the times of heathenism, constituted the burial place of the slaves and poorer citizens, and where the bones of Pagans and Christians lie jumbled promiscuously together, if any happen to find a little phial, or piece of glass tinged

with red, in some hole of the earth, they take it at once, as the learned Montfaucon, (a Catholic and a monk,) informs us, for a *certain proof of martyrdom*; and by the help of the next inscription they can pick up, *they create immediately a new saint and martyr to the Popish church.*

- Father Mabillan, another Romanist, expresses the wish “that they would be *more scrupulous* on this head, and not forge so many fabulous stories of saints, without any certain name, nor impose Pagan inscriptions for Christian, on the church.”

NOTE G.

The following entertaining account of Popish processions, is from Brockwell's History of Portugal, pp. 185, 6. “I shall now proceed to give my readers a transient view of the two yearly processions in Lisbon, viz. *Lent* and *Corpus Christi Day*. The former commences on the first Friday, and ends on the last Wednesday of Lent. On each Friday, a particular passage of our Saviour's sufferings is represented; as (1.) his agony in the garden; (2.) his being betrayed; (3.) his arraignment; (4.) his being mocked and insulted by the soldiers; (5.) his being scourged; (6.) his carrying his cross; and (7.) his crucifixion. Each successive day, one of these passages is added to the former;

so that on the last are represented all the several stages of our Lord's passion, in wax-work figures as large as life, richly adorned with artificial and natural flowers, jewels, brocades, &c. They are borne on men's shoulders, who walk bare-footed, attired wholly in black, and bound about with knotted cords. They are called *penitents*, and are hired at about eighteen pence of our money, per day.

“To these processions belong a great number of men, who are dressed in short scarlet cloaks, and carrying each a large lighted wax taper, adorned with flowers, in their hands, walking bare-headed, two and two, some preceding and some following the procession. In these processions are also carried the images of the founders of the several religious orders in Lisbon; as that of Loyola, of St. Francis, of St. Augustine, of St. Dominick, of St. Bruno, of St. Bernard, &c. Each image is attended by a detachment of the friars of the particular order it represents.

“To these processions also belong a sort of people they call *penitents*, whom they hire for about three shillings per day, to perform several sorts of penances. These people are generally soldiers, porters, cobblers, &c. They are dressed in white from head to foot, so that they are

not known, and perform sundry sorts of exercises. One carries twenty or thirty swords, spread like a fan, the points being bound together, and resting on his breast, he being bent back half double. Then, at a little distance behind, comes a second, with his brawny back bare down to the waist, which, before he sets out, is cut with a lance, to provoke bleeding, and draw pity from the ignorant spectators; while at every twenty or thirty steps, he gives himself a stroke with a scourge. Then comes a third, with a trail of fetters at each leg, which he rattles along like a jail-bird, his knees bare, and a crucifix in his hand, to which, at every seventh or eighth step he kneels, and says a Pater-noster, or an Ave Maria, thumping his breast all the while with his fists. After him comes a fourth, with his waist bound round with a fillet, like a seller of brawn. Then a fifth, with his sides bare, which now and then he tickles with an instrument like a hand grenade, stuck full of points, the blood following at each stroke. The sixth has his arms extended and bound to a stick or pole, until the blood seems ready to start from his fingers-ends. Those that act the hardest parts in these pretended penances, have the largest prices; some a quarter of a moidore, and some half a one. Thus

do the priests impose upon the public, making them believe that these are *voluntary* penitents, and submit to their sufferings to atone for their sins.

“ The procession is always closed by a priest, vested in his *Alb*, and a rich *Cope*, bare-headed, carrying the host under a canopy of rich brocade. He is supported by six priests in their *Albs* and *Copes*, preceded by all sorts of music, singers and players on instruments pouring forth anthems to the sacrament; among whom walk six little boys, dressed in white, like angels, their heads crowned with chaplets and flowers, and their shoulders adorned with wings. The first of these carries four nails on a silver plate; the second, a lance; the third, a sponge on a reed; the fourth, a crown of thorns; the fifth, a napkin; and the sixth, a small cross, with this inscription on a label: I. N. R. J. Following up the whole, is a long train, a numerous concourse of people.

“ Directly the opposite of what has been described, is the procession on *Corpus Christi Day*. This is a complete piece of merriment throughout, containing nothing but buffoonery; as lewd fellows preposterously dressed, playing antic-tricks, skipping and dancing about, and abusing the spectators. But this, like the other, is

closed with the host, and the profane mockery of the sacrament."

NOTE H.

The house of Loretto, or *Casa Santa*, is the house, or more properly the chamber, in which the virgin Mary is said to have been born; where she was betrothed to her spouse, Joseph; where the angel saluted her, and the Holy Ghost overshadowed her; and where, by consequence, the Son of God was conceived or incarnated. But all this took place in Nazareth of Galilee; and of course the house must then have stood there. How came it, then, at Loretto, in Italy? The story is this; and for the truth of it, not only priests and princes, but infallible Popes, and in fact the whole Romish church, stands pledged. In May, 1291, the house was taken up whole by a choir of angels, carried safely through the air, and set down at Tersato in Dalmatia. About four years and six months after this, it was again taken up, in like manner, and removed to its present position in Italy. It is quite remarkable, that the old house stood near two hundred years in Italy, before a single author of that country took any notice of it. To compensate for this neglect, however, it has received an abundance of notice since. Kings, Queens, and Popes have conspired together to

enrich it. A splendid church has been erected over it, under which it stands, as it were in a tent.

NOTE I.

Several instances of resemblance between the ancient heathen and present Popish rites, may be noticed, in addition to those referred to by Dr. Middleton, in his letter.

The Egyptian priests, as Herodotus informs us, had their *heads shaved*, and were continually bald. It was on this account, probably, that the Jewish priests were commanded *not to shave their heads*, nor to make any baldness upon them. Levit. 21: 5. Yet this Pagan *rasure* or *tonsure* on the crown of the head, has long been the distinguishing mark of the Romish priestood.

The Jewish priests were also forbidden to make any *cuttings in their flesh*; since that, likewise, was a common practice of priests and devotees among the heathen. Lev. 19: 28. Yet these *cuttings of the flesh* are continually practiced in Popish countries, at their solemn seasons, and in their processions, in imitation of the old pagan enthusiasts.

The superstitious veneration and solemn translation of *relics*, which make so important a part of the Romish worship, was probably de-

rived from Paganism. If any doubt this, let them consult Plutarch's account of the transfer of the bones of Theseus, from the isle of Syrus to Athens. And as this transaction was first suggested to the Athenians by the apparition of Theseus, and afterwards enjoined upon them by the Delphic oracle; so the discovery and translation of relicks in the Romish church, are usually grounded on some pretended vision, or revelation from heaven.

Celibacy is another Popish practice, which may be traced to a heathen origin. "Paganism," says Jerome, "has many observances, which, to the reproach of Christians, imply great strictness of manners and discipline. Juno had her priestesses, devoted to one husband; Vesta her perpetual virgins; and other idols had priests, also, who were under vows of chastity." To wipe off this reproach from the Christian church, *monasteries* and *nunneries* began to be multiplied, recommended chiefly by the writings and influence of Jerome. Among the *heathen customs* introduced into the church, Vigilantius mentions, particularly, *the vows of chastity* which were imposed.

Upon the heathen temples were usually *painted* the fabulous acts of the old heroes or deities to whom they were consecrated. In imitation

of this practice, wealthy Christians began, in the fourth century, to build churches in honor of the martyrs, and to decorate them with *paintings*, representing the acts of the martyrs, or facts recorded in sacred history. Thus Paulinus, a convert from Paganism, of Senatorian rank, and who was afterwards bishop of Nola, built a splendid church in honor of the martyr Felix. On its portico, he caused to be painted the miracles of Moses and Christ, together with the acts of Felix, and of the other martyrs whose relicks were there deposited. Apologising for this *new measure*, Paulinus says, "It was done with a design to draw the rude multitude, habituated to the profane rites of Paganism, to a knowledge and good opinion of the Christian doctrine; by learning from these pictures, what they were not capable of learning from books, the lives and acts of the Christian saints."

I shall mention but another thing which the early Christians borrowed from the Pagans, and that was their *mysteries*. Among the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans, (under the Pagan emperors,) nothing was held more sacred than what were called *the mysteries*. This circumstance led the Christians, in order to impart dignity to their religion, to say that *they* also

had similar mysteries, or certain holy rites concealed from the vulgar; and they not only applied the terms used in the Pagan mysteries, to *their* holy things, but they gradually introduced *the rites* which those terms designated. On this account, not a few of the Christian observances, even so early as the second century, began to have the aspect of the Pagan mysteries.

NOTE J.

Those who censured the Jesuits for the manner in which they conducted their missions, more especially that in China, were not heretics or Protestants, but Franciscans, Dominicans, Capuchins, Carmelites, and other members of their own church. "The Jesuits," says Mosheem, "are of opinion, that people deeply sunk in superstition, should be approached with *art* and *policy*, and that they are to be led by a cautious and careful hand, to embrace the gospel. Hence, they explain the received doctrines and opinions of the Pagans, in such a way, that they may seem to differ as little as possible from the doctrines of Christianity; and if they find anything in their history or religion, analogous at all to the faith and the history of Christians, they are careful to apply it to demonstrate the harmony between the old religion and the new. The *rites* and *usages*, also, which

the nations have received from their progenitors, (unless these are totally opposite to the Christian rites,) they tolerate; and either changing their form a little, or referring them to a better end than before, accommodate them to Christianity." In short, the missionary policy of the Jesuits has ever been, when circumstances required it, to become half heathen themselves, in order to convert the heathen the other half. Thus, Robert de Nobili, one of their most renowned missionaries in India, pretended that he was a Bramin, and had come from a distant country; and by staining his face, and adopting the austere habits of a Fakir, he persuaded the credulous people to listen to him. The Jesuit missionaries in China, also, not only permitted but encouraged their converts to continue their heathenish rites at the tombs of their ancestors, and in honor of their great lawgiver, Confucius. This mode of conducting missions, was strongly censured by the other orders of Romish missionaries; and the consequence was a warm and long controversy in the very bosom of the Romish church. The case was often carried to the Pope, but seems never to have been definitively decided. His holiness lacked either the power or the courage, to pass a censure on the Jesuits.

NOTE K.

Bishop Warburton, in the second volume of his *Divine Legation of Moses*, (p. 355,) objects to the argument of Dr. Middleton's letter, insisting that the resemblance between the religious rites of Popish and Pagan Rome, furnishes no evidence that the former were derived from the latter. "They are rather to be ascribed to one *common nature*, debased by superstition, and speaking to all its tribes of individuals." "Notwithstanding the resemblance between Papists and Pagans, the same spirit of superstition, operating in equal circumstances, made them *both originals*." But this reasoning of Bishop Warburton, like most of the reasoning in his great and elaborate work, is to my own mind entirely unsatisfactory. On the principle he suggests, we might suppose that heathen rites, the world over, being the product of "one common nature, debased by superstition," would be much the same. Whereas, we know that the diversity is endless. Besides, Dr. Middleton does not urge the conformity between Popish and Pagan rites, on the mere ground of their resemblance, but on the more unquestionable ground of *testimony*. All credible testimony, ancient and modern, Romish and Protestant — that of Popes, fathers, and ecclesiastical histo-

rians, unites in tracing up many of the religious observances of the present Catholic church to a *heathen origin*; and assigns the reasons why they were adopted, viz. to *conciliate the heathen*, and *accommodate Christianity to their habits and wishes*. "We do not err, then," says Dr. Middleton, in the conclusion of his reply to Warburton, "when we affirm, that *the Catholics have borrowed from the heathen* ; or that *Pagan ceremonies* were introduced into the church, while there were strong prejudices subsisting in favor of them ; which prejudices have been operating in it ever since, with more or less effect, in proportion to the corruptions of its rulers and the decay of its discipline, till they have perfected that form and system of worship which we now distinguish by the name of Popery."

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DEAR SIR: — I have been patiently waiting for the Analytical Spelling Book, which has at last arrived, and about thirty of them are now in the hands of my pupils. I have long considered a work of this kind, a desideratum in our schools. It needs no recommendation but to be known, to be universally adopted. With my present views, I shall feel that I am doing an essential service to the youth of our land, by using my feeble influence to extend its circulation among the teachers of my acquaintance.

Yours, most respectfully,
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*From the Rev. Adam Wilson, editor of Zion's Advocate.*

We noticed this book some time since, as then in the press. It is now published. Mr. Pearl is a practical teacher; has devoted much time to the science as well as to the work of teaching. He has adapted his book to the capacity of youth — it is also just the book any one needs who accounts himself a beginner in the study of the mind. It is a volume of only 156 pages, and will be studied by hundreds who would be repelled by heavier works.

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#### WARREN'S GEOGRAPHY.

*A systematic view of Geography, with an Atlas, for Academies and Schools, by William Warren, Principal of the Windham High School.*

This work has been published about two years, and, on its own merits, without the aid of travelling agents, has already found its way into use in many of the best seminaries in our country. The seventh edition has just been printed, and the demand for the work is rapidly increasing. Competent teachers who have given it a thorough examination, and especially those who

have used it, have given it a most decided preference over any of its predecessors or cotemporaries.

*From the Christian Mirror.*

As we were meditating a review of this book, the following came to us, by mail, which we believe to be from a person entirely disinterested, except as a member of the body politic, who, of course, has his own share of enjoyment in every improvement which promises good to the community. In its commendation of the new Geography of Mr. Warren, we heartily concur.

MR. CUMMINGS:—I wish, through your paper, to call the attention of school committees and school teachers to a System of Geography for the use of schools, which is just out of press. It bears on the title page, the name of WILLIAM WARREN, Principal of Windham High School, as author.

An examination of it, will, I doubt not, bring many to the result at which I have arrived, that the book is better adapted to the use of our schools, than any of its predecessors. With the text books in use, heretofore, from Morse's and Cummings' onward, I have been pretty well acquainted as scholar, teacher, and member of school committees. They all bear the same objectionable features, and some of the latest have these features in greatest prominence.

They contain too much descriptive and historical matter, which is never well learned, and tends only to give a superficial character to the study and recitations. They are minute, beyond all reasonable bounds, crowding upon the scholar's attention the names of all the little hamlets, hillocks, and mountain-streams in the land. They contain a large amount of statistical and other such matter, very convenient in a book of reference, but out of place in a text book for common schools.

I judge from Mr. Warren's book, that he has felt in his own school, the objections which lie against the text-books in use, as have many other teachers. I feel obliged to him for the effort he has made to supply the deficiency. It is, I think, a successful effort.

This three-fold division of the subject, giving "a



General, Particular, and Miscellaneous view of the World," is a convenient one, and goes, so far, to produce clear and systematic views. The topics presented, both in his general view of the globe, and in the survey of individual countries, are such as show not only familiarity with the ordinary compass of Geographical knowledge, but — what is more rare — discrimination in his selections. He presents, in the case of each country, its position, chief towns, mountains, rivers, and productions, its government, religion, education, and morals. He does this clearly, concisely, and then stops. "The indispensablest thing," says a quaint writer, "is to know when to get done." No where is the exercise of such knowledge more important, than in a text book for common schools. The book we are upon, exhibits it. The author says enough, and does not say too much. He leaves on the mind of the scholars a clear, well defined impression, and does not confuse him by a *heap of talk*. The whole book — if we except a few pages in the latter part — seems designed to be learned by the pupil, not "for substance of doctrine," as the too prevalent mode now is, but sentence for sentence, and word for word. Learned thus, it will give him a clearer and better outline of Geographical science than is ordinarily attained. The filling up of that outline may be gained with greater advantage and completeness, as well as with less injury to the scholar's forming habits of patient, thorough study, from other sources. I have taken pleasure in observing that, both in the second and third divisions of the work, the facts stated and scenes presented, are given in such manner, and with such degree of fullness, as to open the way for oral lectures in connexion with recitation, if the teacher is prepared to give them, while at the same time they awaken the scholar's interest, and suggest a path for his inquiries.

Let me add, that the peculiar features of Mr. Warren's book, while they make it a good text book for all our schools, render it especially suitable for those where — the scholars being assembled from three to six months only in the year — perspicuity and brevity are more important.

Your correspondent writes, without knowledge of publisher or author, simply from his own conviction of the merits of the work. It is just such a work as in his own days of teaching, he would have given much to find. He asks for it an examination. B.

*From B. C. Fernald, Esq., Principal of the Union School, Portland, Maine.*

MR. HYDE:—I have examined Warren's Geography and Atlas, and I know of no better way of expressing my approbation, than by stating that I have for some time, taught Geography on Mr. Warren's plan; and that I shall introduce his books into my school, as fast as new books on Geography may be wanted. I shall be able to do this more readily, as, by the help of his questions, which may be had for a few cents, I can use them with Smith's Geography and Atlas, now generally used in this State, thus obviating the greatest difficulty found in introducing a new book, however great its merits. B. C. FERNALD.

Union School, Portland, August, 1843.

*From William Bartlett, Jr., Esq., a School Teacher and member of the School Committee, Bangor, Me.*

BANGOR, July 27, 1843.

SIR:—I have been favored with the perusal of Mr. Warren's Geography and Atlas. The classification of subjects in the Geography, I very much like, because I think the pupil will be enabled to pursue the study as herein presented, with much less confusion than he otherwise would.

V. Drew, Esq., Principal of the English and Classical Institute of the city of New York, after having used it in the Institute one year, says, "I decidedly prefer it to any other school Geography in print."

Rev. Dr. Patton, of the city of New York, says: "It is the book."

Samuel Putnam, Esq., Principal of the English and Classical Hall, Brooklyn, N. Y., says: "I should think myself doing injustice to my pupils, to use any other school Geography and Atlas now in print."

Mrs. Hyde uses it in her large and respectable Semi

nary for young ladies, in Brooklyn, and gives it a decided preference to all others.

Rev. Mr. Peabody, of Portsmouth, N. H., says:

PORTSMOUTH, NOV. 13. 1843.

MY DEAR SIR: — It gives me pleasure to express a high opinion of Warren's Geography. The system is the only true system, and would be adopted in the main, in the form of real instruction by any judicious teacher, no matter what manual he might use. I feel convinced, that, by the use of this Geography, in the way indicated by the author, a pupil would acquire a more thorough and systematic knowledge of the science, than he could from any of our common Geographies, without more zeal in teaching than many of our instructors have time or ability to give.

The Atlas seems to be well executed, and neither too much crowded nor too meagre.

A. P. PEABODY.

Rev. Jonathan Trumbull Ely, of Rahway, N. J., says: "I have used Warren's Geography in my school, for the last year, and think that, as a school book, it is superior to any Geography with which I am acquainted."

Mr. Charles W. Goddard, of Bowdoin College, says:

BOWD. COLL., BRUNSWICK, March 25.

DEAR SIR: — I have used Mr. Warren's Geography in my school, during the past winter, and have no hesitation in recommending it as an admirable system—decidedly superior to any with which I am acquainted—containing as it does, in a small compass, all that is essential, and nothing that is useless.

The compiler has displayed much judgment in what he has omitted, as well as in what he has selected; and the remarkable facility with which scholars render themselves familiar with its principles, reflects great credit on the arrangement of the work.

The mechanical execution, too, is neat and creditable, and its merits I doubt not will fast introduce it into general use.

Yours, respectfully,

CHAS. W. GODDARD.

To the publisher.

## ELEMENTS OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

*By I. Nichols, D. D., Pastor of the First Church in Portland.*

## UPHAM'S MENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

**THE PASTOR'S GUIDE**, or Lectures on Pastoral Duties, by Enoch Pond, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Bangor.

The following expressions of opinion of this work, from eminent clergymen, of different denominations, are among the commendations we have received.

*From Rev. Professor Ripley, of the Theological Seminary, Newton, Ms.*

NEWTON CENTRE, July 19, 1844.

I had the pleasure, a few weeks since, of receiving a copy of the **PASTOR'S GUIDE**. Having leisurely perused the volume, I cheerfully express a favorable opinion of it, as embodying the results of careful observation, and of candid reflection, as well as of much personal experience in the ministry. From its general conformity to my own views, I can recommend it to young ministers and candidates for the ministry; though, as you will expect me to say, there are a few points on which I should speak differently from yourself. The book, however, is designed for a class of men who are expected to read with discrimination, and to call no man master. I am yours, H. J. RIPLEY.

*From Rev. Professor C. A. Goodrich, D. D., of Yale College.*

I have examined, with great interest, Dr. Pond's work on Pastoral Duty, and can cordially recommend it, as an excellent manual for the use of theological students, and young pastors.

CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH, Prof.  
of the Pastoral charge.

Yale College, Sept. 1844.

*From Rev. Bennet Tyler, D. D., President of the Theological Seminary, East Windsor, Conn.*

I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your work, re-

cently published, entitled "The Young Pastor's Guide, or Lectures on Pastoral Duties," for which you will please to accept my sincere thanks. I have read the book with deep interest, and most of it with great satisfaction. On some points, my views do not entirely harmonize with yours; but the book, as a whole, I consider *admirably adapted to do good. I know of no other treatise on Pastoral Duties, so full and so able as this.* Many a minister, I trust, will find it a valuable guide; and I cannot but hope it will be extensively circulated.

Yours, affectionately,

BENNETT TYLER.

East Windsor, July, 1844.

*From Rev. Asa Cummings, editor of the Christian Mirror.*

The Young Pastor's Guide is doubtless the most complete and appropriate directory for an American pastor, under existing usages, and in the present state of society, which there is extant. We judge of the whole from several of the twenty-seven lectures, which we have read, in different parts of the book. The counsels are just and wise, fitting the emergency, and well stated. The style is a beautiful, a model specimen of the didactic. Besides a description of the personal qualifications requisite in a pastor, including his intellectual furniture and habits, also of the more obvious duties of the pastoral relation, the author gives most wholesome advice in reference to very many of the thousand embarrassing circumstances in which the young pastor is likely to find himself, in prosecuting the duties of his office. Things here are made the matter of plain instruction, which seldom find their way into books of this kind, but which if regarded, may save many a young minister from wreck of his usefulness, if not of his character. It would require columns to advert to the many things evidently worthy of prayerful attention in these lectures. Sure we are, that hardly any clergyman—except those who derive their authority from prelates, or through the "Apostolical Succession"—would be without the book, after becoming acquainted with its contents. Our Baptist and Freewill brethren, and pastors of all denominations,

whose organization, rules and discipline are substantially Congregational, will find little in it, which they would wish to expunge, and very much of common use to themselves and congregational ministers.

*From an able review in the Biblical Repository.*

Dr. Pond has given us a full, methodical treatise upon the important subject of pastoral duty, in all its parts. A "young pastor," or candidate for the pastoral office, needs but glance his eye over the table of contents, to discover that the book deals largely in topics with which he is personally concerned. The book is very creditably got up. The form, binding, type, and paper, are all good. \* \* \* The book has no inconsiderable animation and fire, and we think will be read with interest even by laymen. \* \* \*

From the views in general, which Dr. Pond propounds, we presume few New England clergymen will dissent. A perfect unanimity on all points, where the points are so many, can hardly be expected. But we are very much deceived, if most of Dr. Pond's counsels will not commend themselves to his elder, no less than his younger brethren, as sound and safe. On most of the vexed questions, the arguments are given both *pro* and *con*; and, so far as we are able to judge, with a good degree of fairness. The Doctor has generally a pretty decided opinion himself, and declares it boldly. This we like; and we like the other feature too. We thus learn not only his own conclusions in the particular case, but the process by which he has arrived at them, and can examine this process at our leisure, step by step. \* \* \* On the whole, the book is worthy of its author, and worthy of New England. If it has any faults, they "lean to virtue's side," arising from the ardent and active spirit of the writer; and they are faults of a very trivial character, compared with the solid and manifest excellences of the book. Dr. Pond will receive the thanks of many "Young Pastors," for this valuable "Guide." Those who formerly listened to these lectures, will rejoice to renew their acquaintance with them, and will perceive that they retain not a little of that earnest and paternal

spirit in which they were first delivered. All sincere men in the ministry, or looking forward to it, will be glad to be presented with a comprehensive survey of the field of pastoral duty, and with a high standard of the fidelity which ought to be exhibited.

*From the editor of the New England Puritan.*

This is a work eminently adapted to be useful. Dr. Pond's ability to treat successfully a subject of so practical a nature, is well known. Some of the subjects treated, are the following: pastoral qualifications, settlement in the ministry, relations after settlement, pastoral acquaintance, visits, treatment of different characters, the more public duties of the pastor, other pastoral duties, extra religious meetings, revivals of religion, evangelists, co-operation of the church, duties of the pastor to the youth, charitable objects, intercourse of a pastor with other churches, and ministers of his own denomination and of other denominations pastor's duties to himself, to his family, political duties, of ministers, respect for the ministry, frequent dismissals, withdrawing from the ministry, results of faithful labor. The article on evangelists, copied from the New Englander, which we commenced last week, and have concluded in this number of our paper, forms, as we notice, one of the lectures in this volume. When we commenced its publication, we were not aware that Dr. Pond was the author. We were much impressed with its soundness and excellence, and concluded that it was the product of no common mind.

*From the editor of the Christian Watchman.*

This volume consists of twenty-seven lectures on various topics connected with pastoral duties. They are the result of much observation and reflection, are written in a calm, frank, and decided tone, with a truly enlightened and catholic spirit, and impart in a small compass, much judicious and useful advice to the young pastor just entering on the duties of the Christian ministry. We cheerfully commend this work to the attention of young ministers and candidates for the ministry, in the belief that it will be found a wise and useful counsellor in many of the exigencies in which they will be called to act.

## 12 BOOKS PUBLISHED BY HYDE, LORD & DUREN.

*From Rev. A. Wilson, editor of Zion's Advocate, Portland.*

We should be glad to see a copy of Dr. Pond's Pastoral Guide in the hands of every Baptist minister in the State, partly because we think they would find it rich and instructive on many important points—and partly because we should be glad to have them understand distinctly what instructions are given, even on those points where we disagree with the respected author.

UPHAM'S RATIO DISCIPLINÆ, or the Discipline and Government of the Congregational Churches. This is a very important book for every Congregational church member. In a community where the people make and execute the laws, it is necessary that every one should understand the constitution upon which the laws are to be based. The Congregational church is strictly republican in its form of government, and the Ratio Disciplinæ gives a full and correct view of its principles and usages. The book contains 324 pages, 12 mo., neatly bound; price 75 cents.

THE DEW OF ISRAEL, by Krummacher, author of Elijah the Tishbite, The Martyr Lamb, &c.













